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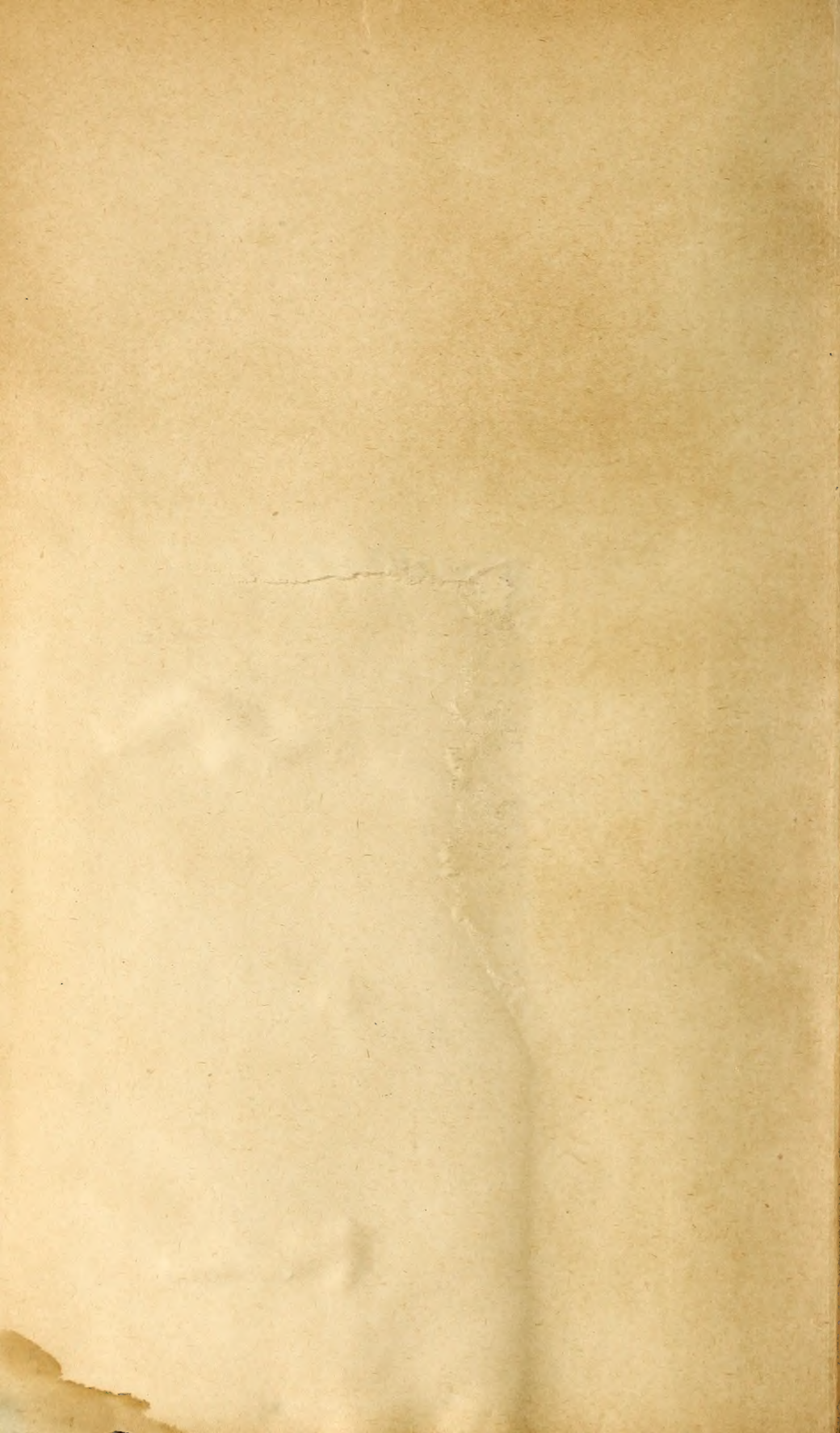
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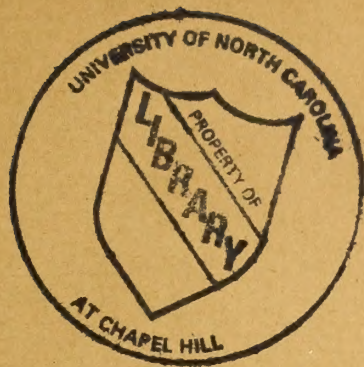
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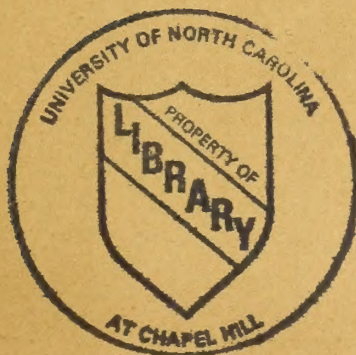
RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI  
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.







THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND  
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER  
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

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ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.



The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished ; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,  
December 1857.*

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ICELANDIC SAGAS.

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# ICELANDIC SAGAS,

AND OTHER HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SETTLEMENTS  
AND DESCENTS OF THE NORTHMEN ON

THE BRITISH ISLES

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1858  
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VOL. IV.

THE SAGA OF HACON,

AND A FRAGMENT OF

THE SAGA OF MAGNUS.

WITH APPENDICES.

TRANSLATED BY

SIR G. W. DASENT, D.C.L.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S  
TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,

BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,

PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from  
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C.; or  
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90, WEST NILE STREET, GLASGOW; or  
HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co., LIMITED, 104, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

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1894.

Printed by  
EYEE and SPOTTISWOODE, Her Majesty's Printers,  
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.



# CONTENTS.

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|                                       | Page   |
|---------------------------------------|--------|
| INTRODUCTION - - - - -                | ix     |
| ERRATA - - - - -                      | xxxvii |
| THE SAGA OF HACON, HACON'S SON - - -  | 1      |
| THE SAGA OF MAGNUS, HACON'S SON - - - | 374    |
| ADDITIONS TO THE SAGA OF HACON - - -  | 388    |
| APPENDIX :—                           |        |
| DUNSTAN'S SAGA - - - - -              | 397    |
| ICELANDIC ANNALS - - - - -            | 421    |
| INDEX :—                              |        |
| NAMES OF PLACES - - - - -             | 452    |
| NAMES OF PERSONS - - - - -            | 467    |
| GENERAL INDEX TO APPENDIX - - -       | 486    |

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## INTRODUCTION.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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### THE SAGA OF HACON.

The conditions under which "The Chronicles and " Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland " are published by the State prescribe that to each volume should be attached some account of the MSS. used by the Editor, and of their age and peculiarities, with any remarks necessary to explain the chronology, and also a short account of the life and times of the author, and some estimate of his historical credibility and value. So far, however, as this volume is concerned, these conditions have already been satisfied, as also in the case of the Orkneyingers' Saga, by the late Mr. Vigfusson in his preface to the Norse text of the Saga of King Hacon and its Appendices, published under the authority of the Master of the Rolls in 1887, and it will therefore only be necessary, in laying before the student of History the following translation of the Norse text, to give some brief account of the subject matter of the Epic, if this honourable appellation may not improperly be given to the story of the life and death of King Hacon as it is presented in the following pages.

At the outset it must be admitted that, interesting as the story is, the connection with the history of the British Islands is less apparent than in the case of many other volumes embodied in the collection published by the Master of the Rolls, but it may not unfairly be claimed that the final episode in the career of the hero of the Epic, the expedition to Scotland in 1263, is sufficient to bring the record within the scope of the scheme approved by the Treasury in 1857.

Be that as it may, the perusal of the following pages will show that they contain enough of historical detail and human interest to warrant on general grounds the publication of the unbroken record of the career of a king who ruled in Norway from 1217 to 1263, during a period when the predatory instincts of the Northmen, satisfied to some extent by permanent acquisitions and settlements in France, the Mediterranean coasts, England, Scotland, and Ireland, had been abandoned now that the consolidated strength of European monarchies rendered a repetition of the piratical invasions of earlier times impossible or unprofitable, whilst the warlike elements of each Northern country were fully occupied by the constant internal dissensions which show that foreign aggression had not been given up in consequence of any decline in the love of fighting for fighting's sake. As is usual in such records, it is the fighting which principally interests the chronicler, and it is only by reading between the lines that we are able to catch a glimpse of such important matters as the conditions of trade during this period, and of the life and habits of the bulk of the population of a country, which, distracted as it was at home, was still considered of sufficient importance in European politics to warrant matrimonial alliances both with Spain and Russia.

In approaching the actual story we must not omit to bear in mind that the original, as was pointed out by the late Mr. Vigfusson, was compiled by the author, Sturla Thordsson, by the direction of Hacon's son and successor, King Magnus, and was probably begun as soon as the news of the King's death in the Orkneys was received in Norway. It is thus apparent that the record is not likely to be absolutely impartial, and that possibly but scanty justice is done to the motives and actions of the opponents of the hero of the Epic, whilst the ill-judged omissions of the later copyists to whom we are indebted for the existing MSS., though preserving



the poetical embellishments of the chronicler, have doubtless robbed us of much interesting matter, and left little but the bare bones of the original narrative.

The story, which divides itself naturally into five compartments of unequal length, begins, as all such stories should, by reciting that in 1204, when John was King in England, when Innocent the 3rd was Pope, and when Otho of Brunswick and Philip of Hohenstaufen were contending for the Imperial Crown, a boy was born in Smaalen, in south-eastern Norway, who was said to be a posthumous illegitimate child of King Hacon, Sverrir's son. Whatever doubts may now be thrown upon his parentage, this boy, who was named Hacon, was almost from his birth accepted by King Sverrir's old followers as his grandfather's only lineal descendant, the child-king Guttorm, who had succeeded his uncle, the late King Hacon, having died at Drontheim almost immediately after his election.

At this period two great factions appear to have been contending for the mastery in Norway, and to each of these it was of great moment to secure the person of the child who represented the race of Sverrir. In the south-east the "Croziermen," the old church party, who were supported by the Danes, had their headquarters at Tunsberg at the mouth of the Christiania Fjord, and their adherents extended far inland along the great chain of lakes and rivers and on the marchlands between Sweden and Norway. In order to escape from the unwelcome and somewhat doubtful attentions of the leaders of this faction, Inga, the boy's mother, when he was but two years old, left her dwelling which lay to the eastward of the Christiania Fjord, and with the help of two old "Birchshanks," as the followers of King Sverrir were called from their foot gear, took him in the depth of winter northwards through the "Croziermen's" country. Secretly as this dangerous journey was undertaken, the fact leaked out, but the fighting men who

were sent to arrest the fugitives were compelled to return empty handed, baffled by the Alpine hardships successfully overcome by the boy and his mother. From this point northwards to Drontheim King Sverrir's grandson was received with enthusiasm by the Birchshanks who dwelt in Gudbrandsdale and the slopes leading down to the western sea coast and in Nidaros or Drontheim, and his escort was soon so considerable that King Ingi, who had been elected by the influence of the Drontheimers in opposition to the wishes of the soldiery on the death of Guttorm, found it politic to accept both the boy and his story. He and his mother were then entrusted to the care of another Hacon, a Swede by his father's side and a half brother of King Ingi, with whom the child lived at Bergen and elsewhere until he was 10 years old, when on his guardian's death King Ingi brought him up with his own illegitimate son Guttorm, this kindness being well repaid by the boy who steadfastly refused during Ingi's lifetime to listen to any proposals from the Birchshanks which would interfere with his benefactor's position. When King Ingi died the young Hacon was but thirteen years of age, and Earl Skuli, who during the King's last illness had been given the command of the Bodyguard, seems to have wished with the help of the church party to prefer the claims of Ingi's son Guttorm, but the Birchshanks party in the Bodyguard insisted upon the immediate consideration of the claims of Hacon, who, as they rightly said, had always been acknowledged by King Ingi as of royal birth. An appeal to the ordeal by hot iron fell through for the time, although Inga, Hacon's mother, was prepared to undergo it, but the matter was clenched by the receipt of letters from Bergen strongly supporting Hacon, the result being that at a solemn Thing summoned for the purpose he was elected King, Earl Skuli retaining the position of second man in the kingdom, to which he had attained in the last days of the reign of his brother,

92



King Ingi. It is noticeable that whereas, in the absence of any issue from the old stock, the Drontheimers had succeeded in obtaining the election of Ingi on the death of Guttorm against the wishes of the fighting men, on this occasion the Bodyguard, with the assistance of the dwellers in the south and in opposition to the clergy, had insisted upon the election of one who was reputed to be "king-born by his father's side right up to heathendom." This allusion to heathendom probably indicates that Hacon's election was due to a reaction against the ecclesiastical influence which had recently prevailed, and may well explain the determined opposition of the Croziermen to his claims, and the disloyal behaviour of the higher ecclesiastics throughout his reign. It is also true that the election would not have been secured had not the young King's advisers, fearful of a threatened alliance between the Croziermen and Earl Skuli, counselled him to consent to Skuli's conditions, and at the final Thing at Bergen it was agreed that the Earl should be granted "a third of Norway and all the Skattlands." Thus closes the first division of the story.

From this date, 1217, until 1240, the Saga records a state of chronic internal warfare. The King and the Earl are represented, it is true, as being good friends at first, and they sailed together on an expedition to the Christiania Fjord to crush the Croziermen, who were at that time without a leader. This expedition was so successful that Hacon's election was confirmed at all the local Things from Oslo, or Christiania, round "the Bay," the modern Bohus Bay, to the district of the Gotha River, which now belongs to Sweden, but was then attached to Norway. The King and the Earl, after remaining some time at the "King's Crag" on that river, though which of the several rocky hills now imbedded in the modern town of Gothenberg was thus honoured cannot to-day be decided, returned to Bergen by way of Tunsberg, having attached the leaders of the broken

Croziermen's party to them by the distribution of lucrative offices round the Bay and in the Uplands.

Next year the King and the Earl visited Drontheim again for the first time since the election, and there the disaffection of the ecclesiastics stirred anew the differences between the two. The ostensible cause put forward was a question as to the King's paternity, but as the King's mother came successfully through the ordeal by hot iron by which the point was left to be decided, the differences were for the time composed, and the united forces were turned against a band of marauders who had come over the Marches from Sweden under a Pretender to royal rank, and had even ventured to attack Oslo. Quarrels between their followers again embroiled the King and the Earl on this expedition, but in the following year the betrothal of Skuli's daughter to the King shows that once more a temporary agreement had been arrived at. This was very necessary, as the South East of Norway was now infested by the invaders from Swedish Gothland, who drew to themselves all the disaffected, and at one time threatened to march over the Fells upon the Western coast of Norway. This, however, was a false alarm; but many battles were fought between the rebels or invaders and the King's officers in the Uplands and on the Mjösen Lake, the struggle lasting for two years and being directed by land and sea on the King's behalf from Tunsberg by Skuli, who took this opportunity to try, though unsuccessfully, to obtain fresh concessions from the King. The unconditional surrender of the marauders, who were nicknamed "Ribbalds," left the whole country for a moment at peace, and this period of leisure was made use of to raise again the whole question of the legality of Hacon's position. The question was solemnly debated at a special meeting at Bergen in 1223, at which were present all the great men of the kingdom, lay



and clerical, including the Earl of the Orkney Isles and the Bishop of the Faroes. The outcome of the meeting was a practically unanimous decision in favour of Hacon, but it is ominous that it was followed by fresh arrangements between the King and the Earl as to sharing the land, and by what reads very like a compact that Drontheim was to be considered the capital of the Earl's country, whilst the King was to be supreme at Bergen and in the Bay, showing with what difficulty the young King maintained his position against the constant intrigues of his older rival. When the King left Bergen for the Bay he wished, as a measure of precaution, to take with him Sigurd, the late "King" of the Ribbalds, but Skuli persuaded the King to allow him to take Sigurd to Drontheim. The result was what might have been, and no doubt was, expected. Sigurd escaped from the Earl's custody and made his way over the Fells into Sweden, and from that point of vantage harried the King's subjects on the Marches and in the Bay so cruelly that Hacon was compelled to postpone his promised return to Bergen for his marriage with Skuli's daughter in order to make a midwinter march to chastise Sigurd and his Swedish supporters. An appeal to the King of Sweden for redress producing no satisfactory reply, the King set out in January 1225 on his march into Sweden, where, in spite of the difficulties of the country and the severity of the climate he destroyed the property of the adherents of the Ribbalds, but his precarious position is shown by an attack made upon Tunsberg in his absence, when the Ribbalds sacked the town and burned his ships. This was not pleasant news for the King on his return, nor could it have comforted him to find letters from Earl Skuli upbraiding him for breaking faith with his daughter, and declaring that if he did not come to Bergen at Easter he should consider himself free to act as he pleased. The winter, however, was so long that it was Easter week before the King could get his newly repaired ships out of harbour, and

then only by hauling them overland and launching them over the shore-ice into the open sea. Fortunately Skuli had taken these difficulties into consideration and awaited his arrival, so that the marriage came off in due course on Trinity Sunday, though it is significant that it was necessary to send a detachment up to the central highlands of Norway to guard against an attack from the Ribbalds during the bridal festivities. During the King's absence at Bergen things did not go well for his party in the Bay and the Uplands. Sigurd, the Ribbalds' King, had established himself in Oslo, and his men were in such force in the Uplands that a combined expedition was arranged against him, Earl Skuli marching from the North and the King from the South; but nothing came of this, nor, indeed, of a challenge sent to Hacon by Sigurd, and when the year closed the advantage rested with the Ribbalds. Next year the Ribbalds' King died suddenly in Oslo and his followers persuaded Canute, the son of the Earl Hacon who had been King Hacon's guardian as a child, to call himself their King, and, although he and his escort from Gothland were defeated in their first encounter, King Hacon was compelled to take his ships up to the Mjösen Lake before he could obtain even a temporary command of the district. All this year (1226) and the next the struggle went on with varying success; Canute, driven out of the Uplands, reappeared at Ljodhouse in Gothland, possibly where the strong castle of Bohus was afterwards built to dominate the lower reaches of the Gotha river, but was again defeated, whilst his forces in the Uplands became again so strong that the King's ships ascended the Glommen from the Bay to give them battle, the King's anxiety being shown by his repeated offers to make terms and his decision to pass the winter at Oslo to protect his adherents. The end, however, came at last; both sides were weary of fighting, and after a severe defeat the Ribbald King sent to make his submission. Easy terms were at once granted to him and those of his

followers who came in with him, whilst the country people made short work of those few who declined to submit. "And there ends the age of the Ribbalds," and also the second division of the Epic.

After this, there was a period of comparative peace for some five years, during which Earl Skuli paid a visit to the Danish King and received a large fief at his hands. It is noticeable that so complete was the separation between the forces of the King and the Earl that Skuli made his voyage to Copenhagen in a chapman's ship because he had no ships of his own in the Bay. This period of rest at home was also utilised for a joint expedition to the Hebrides, where Alan, the Earl of Galloway, and the House of Somerled in the Isles, a family of doubtful origin, needed to be reminded of the rights and power of the Norwegian Crown in Scotland. All down the West Coast from the Lewes and Skye even to Man, in Cantire and in the Firth of Clyde there was heavy fighting in 1230, with great loss of life to the Northmen both by sword and tempest, but it is recorded that on the return of the expedition King Hacon thanked them "for their doings", as they "had in this voyage done much to win honour for the King". Some, however, of the Northmen remained behind in the Orkneys, and in a drunken quarrel killed the Orkney Earl. The result was much fighting throughout the Northern Isles in 1231, and an appeal to King Hacon on the part of both sides. Some of the most guilty were executed on their arrival at Bergen in 1232, but to the Orkneys this appeal was most disastrous, as it is recorded that on their return "the Orkneyingers all went in one ship, " the best men of the Isles. That ship was lost and all " who were in her." This kind of entry is of frequent occurrence in the Saga, reminding us how unfitted the "long ships" of the Northmen, with their low waists and numerous benches, must have been for the open sea. Crowded with men, and with but little carrying capacity,



these fighting ships, as we may see from the fine lines of the Viking ship now preserved in the Museum of Christiania, were, like their Greek prototypes of old, admirably adapted for working along a deeply indented coast, where frequent opportunity was afforded to the crews to land and cook their food, but in crossing the North Sea the danger was admittedly great, and the discomfort of the crews must have been intense on board these undecked galleys, whilst the "round ships" or "dromonds" of the chapmen could keep the sea in weather which drove the long ships into harbour.

All the fighting which had passed before was, however, only a prelude to a more serious struggle which was now imminent, but in reading the account given in the Saga of the causes which led to this long contest, and of the actions of the contending parties, we must not forget that we have before us but the evidence of one side only. To judge from the Saga no one could have been more considerate than the King, more clement to those who submitted, or more reasonable in his demands, whereas Earl Skuli is held up to us as both treacherous and cruel.

Quarrels between their followers are said to have led to dissension between the King and the Earl in 1233, and on the King's invitation Skuli came south to Bergen with 30 ships to discuss the matters in controversy between them, but he found the King's ships so numerous that there was no room for him at the landing wharves, and his squadron had to be beached outside, where they were much damaged by the stormy weather of the late Autumn. At the solemn Thing, which was attended by both parties in great numbers, the King brought against Skuli the accusations laid to his charge by his followers, to which the Earl replied. It is, however, remarkable that the chronicler, or the copyist, has not thought it worth while to preserve either these charges or the reply, so that we are now unable to decide

with whom the fault really lay ; and this reticence may well lead us to suspect that the Earl was not altogether in the wrong in this dispute. At the conclusion of the Thing the followers of each disputant were separately mustered so that there should be no doubt in future as to the weight of support on which each could reckon, but an arrangement, which was admittedly but temporary, was patched up by the Bishops, who had attended the Thing in great force. An outward show of friendship existed between the King and the Earl, but the quarrels between their followers were as constant as ever. What steps the Earl took to strengthen his position we know not, but it is recorded that the King surrounded the Berg at Tunsberg with a stone wall and took steps to secure, as a basis of operations in the Uplands, an important island on the Mjösen Lake, which was then in the possession of the Church. This step was no doubt necessary, but it did not improve the relations between the King and the Bishops, who were always inclined to favour his rival. At length in 1235, in the 19th year of the King's reign, a curious development of the struggle took place, the King sailing with a strong fleet to Drontheim, the northern capital, which he had not visited for years, whilst the Earl, who dared not remain to meet him even in his own town, marched over the Fells through the Uplands and spent the winter in the South, partly at Tunsberg or Oslo, and partly at the King's house on the Gotha River. The King sent back from Drontheim those of his ships which had come from the Bay in order to protect his interests, but there appears to have been little or no actual fighting, and through the good offices of the Church an arrangement was again made, the terms of which were not unfavourable to the Earl, who had employed himself during his stay in the South in consolidating his party, the members of which were hereafter known as "Wolfskins." After a mutual exchange

of hostages the two rivals again came together and spent the year 1236 and the following year in company at Bergen and Drontheim, the King gratifying Skuli with the title of Duke, so that then began, as the chronicler states, "a new and kindly feeling between that father and son-in-law." The fact was that so long as the two were together things went on fairly well, and the points of dissension caused by the perpetual quarrels and manslaughters of their turbulent followers were settled by mutual arrangement, but when in 1238 the Duke, as we must now call him, left the King at Oslo and sailed northwards to his own headquarters at Drontheim, he seems again to have fallen, according to the chronicler, under some evil influence, receiving into his favour deserters from the King's party and meditating how he might attain at least to equality with the King, even at Bergen. His preparations, however, were not yet sufficiently matured to encourage him to meet the King at Bergen in 1239, and he therefore seems to have consented to a proposal that no action should be taken on either side that year. This arrangement, however, did not prevent his calling a Thing at Drontheim in November, at which, with but slight disapproval from the Church party if not with their tacit consent, surrounded by adherents who had joined him from the Uplands and the Bay in pursuance of the arrangements made with them in 1235, he was formally proclaimed King.

Skuli at once took steps for the slaughter of all those of Hacon's party whom he could reach, often under conditions of great treachery, according to the Saga, though it is recorded that in order to maintain his favour with the ecclesiastics he to some extent punished those of his followers who were guilty of the sacrilege of slaying men who had sought shelter in churches. A strong party of his men marched in November over the Fells and through the Uplands



down to Oslo, killing the King's men when they could catch them, but an attempt to seduce Canute from his allegiance was unsuccessful. Meanwhile the King sat in Bergen with but few men with him, and many of those whom he had sent back to their homes were intercepted and slaughtered by the Wolfskins. A feeble sort of truce for the winter was proposed by the Archbishop, who, despite the strong tendency of the Church towards Skuli, seemed to think that matters had gone rather too far. Little, however, came of this, and after an affecting scene with his Queen, the daughter of the rebel Duke, the King sent out the "arrow of war," collected men, ships and provisions, and fitted out expeditions which killed such of the Wolfskins as could be found, but the Saga records that the lives of all who submitted were spared. It was, however, useless to think of attacking Skuli in Drontheim without longer preparation, and all that winter of 1239-40 the King remained at Bergen, building ships, reviewing his men, and breaking up his plate to pay them their wages, for so complete was the overthrow of his authority in the South that the customary levies and land dues were not received. At Candlemas, however, the King sailed for Drontheim with 40 ships, but his rival dared not await him and marched up the country with 500 men, leaving behind him his family, his ships and many of his adherents. The Saga describes the King's clemency to those who remained and submitted, and also in respect of the property of those who had marched away with the Duke, which was to be left untouched until the summer on the chance of their submitting, but Hacon indignantly refused to consider a proposal which was made to him, probably by the ecclesiastical party, that he and Skuli should divide Norway between them. Meanwhile the Duke was still in the Uplands, and at Oslo Canute and the King's friends had collected over 500 men, with whom they marched to meet Skuli on his

way down to the coast. The two bands met in March and fought amongst the snow and ice, but the victory was with Skuli, who was shortly afterwards elected King at Oslo, where his strength was increased by further defections from the King's party. Thus it will be observed, and not for the first time, how each of the two contending parties was established in its adversary's territory, King Hacon being master of Drontheim and all the surrounding country, which had always been the peculiar stronghold of Skuli, whilst the rebel Duke reigned with the title of King at Christiania and in the Bay, where the authority of King Hacon had not for many years been questioned. This is, of course, to be explained by a reference to the physical conditions of the country. From Bergen Hacon, when the sea was open, could send his fleet to attack Drontheim, but he had not sufficient force, nor perhaps sufficient time, to send an expedition through the Uplands and over the Fells by the only road which led to Drontheim, and thus as he sailed North, it was open to Skuli, even in a Norwegian winter, by taking the line of the modern railway, to march overland to the South, where he had been for years endeavouring to create a party on whose support he could rely, and where, no doubt, he counted on receiving great assistance from his Danish fief in Halland beyond the Gotha river.

The King, on his part, received at Drontheim many deserters from the Duke's side, landed men, who found it best to make terms with the *de facto* sovereign, and after providing for the chances of the future by giving the title of King to his young son Hacon at a Thing at Bergen, he sailed on Good Friday for the Bay, where his rival Skuli had been carrying all before him. After a stormy passage round the Naze, in which the King's ship was in great danger, Hacon reached the Bay just as his enemy was preparing to attack Canute and his supporters as they lay at Tunsberg. After the

labours of the voyage his men had drunk hard and were not easy to move, but the advantage of a leading wind was not lost and the fleet sailed straight up the Fjord towards Oslo, joined on its way by detachments from Canute's squadron. A thick sea-fog delayed the attack, but at daybreak on April 21, 1240, after careful arrangements for his son's action in case of defeat and the usual Homeric speech to his men, the King landed to the south of Oslo and attacked the surprised Wolfskins in the rear, whilst his fleet, which had been concealed behind the large island which faces the old haven, rowed in to the wharves as soon as the King and his men were seen descending the steep hill towards the little river, the Lo Elf, on the sloping bank of which the old town of Oslo was built. The drowsy Wolfskins hastily threw on their clothes and mustered under the Duke's banner, ineffectual attempts were made to protect the town by partially destroying the bridges over the stream, but this obstacle was soon overcome, and though the rapid thaw had made the ground very difficult, especially in the lower part of the town through which the King's men had to fight their way in order to reach the main body of their enemies, after a wild bout of street fighting the Wolfskins were broken into two bodies, one of which under Skuli got clear of the town by the northern road, whilst their less fortunate comrades were surrounded in the yard of St. Halvard's Church, now an open space in the modern suburb of Oslo, and were all put to the sword when it was stormed, with the exception of a few who had barricaded themselves in the church itself. Skuli having made good his retreat, the King recalled his men and obtained from the complaisant Bishop absolution for the violation of the church-yard, the Saga taking care to mention that "grim as King Hacon had been that day in overcoming his foes, so was it not less remarkable how merciful he was in peacegivings to all those who came into his power," though the spoils of victory were



distributed amongst his men. Skuli made his way with some difficulty over the Fells to Drontheim, but was not warmly received, as the King during his stay there had made many friends, and on the arrival of Hacon's advanced squadron all appeals failed to rally his few supporters, and Skuli and his son, in spite of the intercession of the Archbishop, were hunted down and put to death, the ease with which this final rebellion was crushed being the more remarkable when we remember that Skuli had for years been able to maintain himself in a position of practical equality with the King.

We now take our leave of the third of the five epochs into which the story is naturally divided, and are introduced to a long period of three and twenty years during which no attempt was made to interfere with the sovereign rights of King Hacon. It is characteristic that the King seems forthwith to have thought that the consolidation of his authority required to be emphasized by the formal ceremony of Coronation, but when he approached the Bishops on this question they immediately asked for further privileges as a condition of their obtaining the sanction of the Pope. This bargain, however, Hacon refused to entertain, and at once wrote to the Pope himself, the result being that in 1247 a Cardinal arrived from Rome in an English galley with full powers to perform the ceremony. The clergy took advantage of his presence to renew their application to the King, but the Cardinal's support was only half-hearted and the King was obdurate, declaring roundly that he would sooner not be crowned at all than give way on this point, a good proof that now for the first time in his reign of thirty years he was strong enough to insist upon having his own way in spite of the clergy. On the other hand, the Saga records that with the assistance of the Cardinal many heavy imposts and fines which the Bishops had been in the habit of exacting from the people were abolished, and also trial by ordeal,

a process of law to which it will be remembered the King had been compelled in early years to submit his claims, so that the result of the Cardinal's visit was a considerable reduction in the power and influence of the higher ecclesiastics. The Coronation feast, which was held in a covered slip or ship-building shed of greater capacity than any other building in Bergen, lasted eight days and is minutely described in the Saga, which reproduces the speech in which the Cardinal describes how he was warned in England not to expect comfort or luxury in Norway, and how rejoiced he was that he persevered in his undertaking in spite of all the arguments brought forward to dissuade him. Relieved of all trouble at home, King Hacon now had leisure to attend to his relations with neighbouring states, as frontier troubles with Sweden required adjustment, and also difficulties with Denmark as to the passage of the Sound, a burning question which had already begun to dominate the politics of the Northern Powers. Both of these countries were now as unsettled as Norway had lately been, and whilst the Danes were profuse in promises they were not so ready with the performance, and at last flatly refused to fulfil their bargain, though a Swedish army co-operated with the Norwegian fleet. At last, after the Danish province of Halland had been harried without effect, King Hacon appeared in 1257 off Copenhagen at the head of 320 ships and the Danes eagerly accepted his terms. From Oslo or Christiania, and the King's Crag on the Gotha River, where the wisdom of Gustavus Adolphus afterwards created Gothenberg as a means of access to his kingdom from the West unfettered by Danish exactions in the Sound, King Hacon carried on his negotiations with the Swedes, whose feeble kings were overshadowed by the power of the great Earl Birgir, a Swedish Skuli, to whose daughter the young King Hacon was married shortly before his untimely death. Negotiations for a matrimonial alliance with the Russian King at Novgorod also

made some progress, but were interrupted by the invasion of the Tartars, and the mention of a charge of piracy against the inhabitants of Lubeck, which was referred to the Emperor Frederick just before his death, contains an allusion which enables us to state with certainty that the Saga was compiled in 1265, just two years after Hacon's death, and is the first mention of the encroaching enterprise of the Hanseatic merchants from which Norway was to suffer so severely in later years.

The number of allusions to Iceland in the Saga is far greater than might be expected in view of the political insignificance of the island, where family feuds and private war flourished even more than in Norway, but this is explained by the constant but ineffectual efforts of the King to extract a revenue from the inhabitants, and by the fact that the historian himself was an Icelander, and thus naturally inclined to record the manslaughters and burnings in which his family and connections took a prominent part, sometimes nominally on behalf of the King, but more often on behalf of their own interests. Eventually an agreement was arrived at in 1262, by which the inhabitants of three parts of the Island consented to recognise the King's right to levy a "Skatt," and, after an absence of four winters, envoys returned from Greenland who reported that there also the sovereign rights of the King of Norway would be recognised by the descendants of those who had left Norway to escape the iron rule of Harold Fairhair.

After the death of his elder brother, the young Magnus, a boy of great promise, was named King by his father, and a wife was sought for him from the Danish royal family. The contract was signed, but when a Norwegian squadron arrived in Jutland to bring the lady home, her mother, the daughter of the Elector of Saxony, refused to let her go. This, however, was not agreeable to the Princess, who thereupon found means of communicating with the Norwegians, the result being her willing abduction almost under the eyes of the Swedish magnate, Earl



Birgir, who wished to marry her to his own son. On her arrival, the bridal feast and the coronation of the bridegroom were celebrated with such magnificence as greatly to impress a Scottish envoy who was present, but the festivities were fatal to Earl Canute, a steadfast supporter of King Hacon in his later years, of whom the Saga says, as might indeed have been said of many in those northern latitudes, that he was "too great a man for drink, and of that he took his failing health." Strong drink, indeed, was a great feature in the life of the fighting Northman, and heavy drinking bouts are often mentioned in the Saga, the success of Hacon's final expedition against Skuli being all but marred, as we have seen, by the intemperance of his followers at a critical moment.

Before we take leave of this division of the story, it may be well to point out that it was not only with the Northern Powers that Hacon was in friendly relation. In the interests of the chapmen who even then in their "dromonds" penetrated through the Straits into the Mediterranean, a present of hawks was sent to the Soldan of Tunis, and a most interesting account is given of the arrival of an envoy from the "King of Spain" to demand the hand of the Princess Christine for one of his brothers. After some consideration it was decided to accept the proposal, and the Princess, with a retinue of 100 men and many noble ladies, set sail for Yarmouth in England in a ship specially fitted up to accommodate her and the sea-sick Spaniard, Sira Ferant, and freighted with a great dowry in furs and gold and silver. From England the party crossed to Normandy, and by the advice of the French King came down upon "the Sea of Jewry," at Narbonne and entered Spain by way of Catalonia. Some of the geographical allusions are obscure, or possibly corrupt, but it is clear that the Princess went to Burgos and Valladolid, where she was received with great honour, being met by "the King's

son"—“with a countless host of knights and barons, archbishops and suffragan bishops, and ambassadors both of the heathen and Christians.” It now appeared, however, that the bridegroom had not yet been chosen, and the King of Aragon himself wished to marry the Princess, but her Northern companions thought him too old. The King of Castile then offered her the choice of all his brothers, and the Princess after some consideration selected Philip, the archbishop designate of Seville, who is described as “not made for a clerk, but rather to go about with “pastimes, hawks, and hounds,” “the best man at fighting single-handed with bears and wild boars, and ever “merry and mirthful and courteous, and the best of “fellows.” Such a character attracted at once the sympathies of the Northern Princess and her followers; let us hope that she was not disappointed in her choice!

We now arrive at the fifth and last act of the great historical drama of the life of King Hacon. As early as 1224 envoys from the Hebrides had come to Bergen, one of whose names indicates that the northern conquerors had begun to intermarry with the Celtic population, and John, the Earl of the Orkneys, then also made his peace with the King, leaving his son Harold as a hostage, returning again himself to Bergen two years later accompanied by the Bishop of the Southern Isles and an abbot from his own dominions. In 1228 news came that Alan, the son of the Earl of Galloway, had collected ships and harried the Southern Isles, and that Olaf, the King of Man, had great difficulty in holding his own against him, whilst the great house of Somerled, who were nominally tributary to Norway, were more than suspected of a desire to throw off their allegiance. The news was brought to Bergen by a chief named Ospak, himself belonging to the Somerled family, and was confirmed in 1230 by the arrival of King Olaf of Man, who had been driven from the west by Alan. To Ospak Hacon gave the

title of King and the command of an expedition of 11 ships with which he sailed to the Orkneys and on to Skye, being soon joined by King Olaf and a small reinforcement. After a successful skirmish with their opponents they sailed together to the Sound of Islay, where they met the three Somerled chieftains, one of whom was slain under circumstances which seem to point to great treachery on the part of the Northmen, though Ospak saved the lives of two of his kinsmen. From Islay the squadron sailed round Cantyre and harried Bute, losing many men in an assault on a castle and three ships and all their crews in a storm. Though Alan, the Scottish Earl, was said to have collected 150 ships he did not venture to attack the Northmen, who lay for some time in Cantyre, where Ospak died and was succeeded in the command by Olaf, who at once led the expedition to Man and in spite of some opposition was again accepted as King. Leaving him behind, the squadron sailed northwards again in 1231, ravaging Cantyre on its way, but met with considerable losses at the hands of the defending Scots, and after clearing the outer Hebrides of their opponents arrived in the Orkneys, whence the greater part of the expedition returned home, some of those who remained there being concerned in the murders which have already been mentioned.

This expedition seems to have been so successful in re-establishing the authority of the King of Norway in the Hebrides that we hear no more of the Scots until 1242, when King Alexander, the son of William the Lion, sent envoys to treat for the purchase of the Southern Isles from Hacon, a sufficient proof that the Northmen were still supreme there, though possibly somewhat uncertain in their allegiance to the Mother Country. This proposal, though often renewed, was as often refused, but when in 1248 the King's daughter Cecilia was married to Harold of Man, the son of the late King Olaf, Hacon seems to have thought it advisable to



confer the title of King upon John, one of the Somerled family, thus recognising the separation of Man from the Hebrides. Cecilia was however lost at sea with her husband on the voyage to Man, and the new King John was hastily sent out to take charge of all the Southern Isles until King Hacon could make other arrangements. On his arrival he was met by King Alexander, who lay with his fleet at anchor under the Island of Kerrera, opposite to the modern Oban, and did all that he could to seduce him from his allegiance to King Hacon, offering great fiefs on the mainland if he would surrender to him, with other strongholds, the castle on the small island still called Cairn-a-burgh, between Mull and Tiree, a point most convenient for observing both the inner and outer lines of communication between the Northern and the Southern Hebrides. In spite, however, of these temptations, in which Alexander was supported by the entreaties of the other members of the Somerled family, King John refused to betray the trust reposed in him by Hacon, and sailed away to the Lewes, and on Alexander's sudden illness and death in 1249 the project of recovering the Southern Isles by force was abandoned. Four years later, we note that King Hacon was accompanied on his expedition against the Danes by King John and his brother Dougal, a proof that Scottish attacks on the Isles had ceased, and at the marriage in Bergen in 1261 of the Danish Princess Ingiborg to the young Magnus, certain Scottish envoys were present who had been sent over by the young King Alexander on an unexplained mission, possibly as spies on pretence of renewing the proposal to buy out the claims of the King of Norway to the Southern Isles. These envoys had attempted to depart without taking leave of the King but were brought back perforce, and though thus unwilling spectators of the wedding festivities are reported to have been much impressed by the magnificence of the wedding ceremony and the subsequent coronation of the

young King. Whether this was true or not, their report did not deter the Scots from taking action, and in 1262 the Earl or Marmor of Ross and Kjarnak, Machamal's son, ravaged Skye with great cruelty, and the intention of the King of Scots to reduce the Southern Isles was so evident that Hacon summoned all his liegemen and vassals to meet him in the summer of 1263 at Bergen to join in a great expedition to Scotland, young Magnus being left behind to govern Norway. The account of the preparations and of the ships and their captains as given in the Saga is almost Homeric, as is also the account of a discussion which took place after their arrival in the Orkneys, in which the King's wish to send part of his force to harry the East coast of Scotland was overruled by his independent followers, who declined to take part in any expedition which was not personally led by their King, who after his active reign of forty six years might not unfairly have claimed to be allowed to hand over to his lieutenants such a subsidiary operation as the expedition to the Moray Firth.

Whilst the fleet lay in the Orkneys an annular eclipse of the sun occurred which enables us to fix the date as being August 5, 1263. This may well have been considered an evil omen for the expedition, though the Saga is silent on this point, as news now reached the King that John, the King of the Southern Isles, had at last given way to the temptations of the Scottish King and the entreaties of his family, and that no help could therefore be expected from him. After levying a heavy contribution from the Northmen who had colonised Caithness the King set sail on August 10, rounded Cape Wrath and made for the Lewes, running afterwards from the Long Island across the Minch to Rum and thence to a harbour just within the Sound of Sleat. It is evident that it was not considered safe to incur any risks by attempting to pass between Skye and the Mainland, where the strong tides in the narrow channels

would have hindered the progress of the fleet, which would also have been exposed to attacks from the Marmor of Ross. At this anchorage, now so well known to the Manx fishermen, the King was joined by the King of Man and his contingent and also by reinforcements from his own country, some of whom had made no land between Norway and the Lewes. The Somerled Dougal also arrived, possibly with the hope of profiting by his brother's defection, possibly too, because it was then considered advisable in Scotland, as again 500 years later, to have a representative of a family on each side in times of trouble. From Skye the fleet passed round Ardnamurchan and down the Sound of Mull to Oban Bay, where the King's whole force was at length assembled, more than 120 ships "most of them great" and all in good trim both as to men and weapons." It will be noted that thus far nothing has been heard of any Scottish fleet, the fact being that the pure Celt has never taken to the sea, and that the heraldic Galley quartered in their arms by the Macdonalds and other Scottish families who claim descent from the Somerleds is a trace of their close connection with the Northmen, nearly every placename of any antiquity in the Hebrides being Scandinavian, whilst the Gaelic name Tarbet which so frequently occurs in the Islands and on the Western coast of the Mainland refers to the practice which the Northmen had brought with them from their own land of avoiding a headland or invading inland waters by dragging their long ships across what the Canadian *voyageurs* describe as "portages."

In Oban Bay the arrangements for the serious business of the expedition were made; the King with the main body of his fleet removed his headquarters to the Gigha Islands, near the head of West Loch Tarbet in Cantyre, whence he could command both the Mainland and the Islands of Jura and Islay, a small squadron was sent round the Mull to harry Bute and the Southern coast of



the promontory, whilst fifty ships under Dougal, the Somerled chief, went down the Loch and ravaged Cantyre so thoroughly that the Celtic chieftains consented to pay a heavy fine and to hold their lands of the King of Norway, in which arrangement Islay was also included. The Saga also relates that whilst he lay at Gigha Hacon was visited by King John, who was detained until the main body of the expedition had rounded the Mull and reached Lamlash in Arran in the hope that Hacon's arguments might induce him to throw over the Scots. This however he still refused to do, and he was after a time allowed to depart unharmed, a sufficient proof that Hacon did not consider his own position very secure. In ravaging Bute and the Mainland the Northmen found a willing assistant in a corsair named Rudri or Roderic, who had himself some claim to the possession of Bute which was contested by the Scots, and accordingly revenged himself on the wretched inhabitants by showing himself even more pitiless and treacherous than his Northern allies. Meanwhile the Barefooted Friars and the Scottish clergy were doing their best to make peace between the two parties, safe-conducts were given on both sides and two Bishops who accompanied King Hacon went to meet the Scottish King in Ayrshire. The Scots seem to have been willing to give up all claim to the outer Islands, but insisted on regaining possession of Bute, Arran and the Cumbræes, off which islands the invading fleet lay anchored until the end of September. The object of the Scots was evidently to prolong the negotiations until the stormy Autumn weather set in, but towards the end of the month the King's patience gave way, and a strong squadron was sent up Loch Long, the ships were dragged across the isthmus at Tarbet and launched on Loch Lomond, its numerous islands and the rich district of the Lennox being cruelly harried by Magnus of Man, Dougal of the Isles, and the Cantyre chieftains, who

eagerly embraced the opportunity of ravaging the more civilised Lowland districts, the Saga relating that Dougal's brother Alan marched almost across Scotland. The assistance, however, on which the Scots were reckoning came at last. On the night of October 1 it came on to blow from the South and West, and the King's ships began to drag their anchors from their station off the Cumbraes towards the Ayrshire coast, on which a heavy sea was running. Anchor after anchor was let down, the King's ship laying out no less than eight, but still the ships drove and fouled each other, the daylight finding them within arrow shot of the shore, where the Scots were already plundering a ship which had been cast away. In a lull of the storm King Hacon got a detachment of his men ashore to protect a stranded ship, but they were soon overwhelmed by the Scots, who were ten to one in numbers and headed, according to the Saga, by five hundred knights with mail-clad horses. With their backs to the water, the Northmen, or those who were left of them, seem to have faced about and to have made so stout a resistance that the Scots failed to drive them into the sea, but until the evening the wind was so strong that no material assistance could reach them from the ships. As often happens, however, the storm went down with the sun, and the Northmen were able to recover the field of battle, a barren honour, as the Scots retired so deliberately that they were able to carry off all their dead. Thus ended the battle of Largs as it is called by tradition, the actual battlefield being unknown, and this 2nd day of October, 1263, practically put an end to the domination of the Northmen on the Coast of Scotland.

On the succeeding day (Wednesday) the King seems to have been allowed to bury his dead without interruption; on Thursday he managed to get the remains of his fleet back to the Cumbraes, but it was not until Friday, the 5th of October, that the weather allowed

him to burn the ships which lay bilged on the Ayrshire shore. Though the Saga does not admit it, there can be little doubt that the expedition received a fatal blow at Largs, and that even after the return of the detached squadron from Loch Long it was not considered safe to meddle any more with the Scots.

The King himself was inclined to listen to an appeal from the Northmen in Ireland, the "Ostmen" whose name is still perpetuated in one of the divisions of modern Dublin, where a century of the domination of Strongbow's conquerors had not reconciled the Scandinavian inhabitants of the seaport towns to the yoke of their Norman cousins, but his men would not agree to this. The country was either so thoroughly ravaged or so hostile that no provisions could be obtained on the shores of the Firth of Clyde, so the fleet sailed round the Mull and levied a contribution of cattle in Islay, but before Oban Bay was reached at the end of October another storm overtook them in the Firth of Lorn from which they escaped with difficulty. At Oban they had hoped to hear from King John of the Isles, but, as might have been expected under the circumstances, this hope was disappointed, and the sorely battered fleet passed on to the Calf of Mull and lay in the Bay of Tobermory. Here the expedition practically broke up; King Magnus of Man had already left, and the Somerleds, Dougal and Alan, now took their departure, receiving from King Hacon grants of the possessions which had before belonged to their brother John, whilst Bute and Arran were granted to other chieftains. These grants, however, must have been but empty words, for though the Saga states that in this expedition King Hacon had won back all that he claimed, the fact remains that the power of the Northmen in these regions had passed away, and that only three years later King Magnus, Hacon's successor on the throne of Norway, sold to the King of Scots for a comparatively small sum all his rights in



Scotland south of the Pentland Firth, reserving only the Orkneys and Shetlands, which remained in the power of the Norwegian Kings until two centuries later they were made over to Scotland in pledge for the dowry of a Northern princess.

From this point the tale which the Saga has to tell is but sad. Northwards sailed the remnant of the mighty host, ever harassed by the weather and seeking shelter on its way in the deep sea lochs, compelled to pass outside Skye through the stormy Minch for fear of enemies on the Mainland, even after doubling Cape Wrath losing men in the wilds of Sutherland at the hands of the Celts, and only reaching a friendly haven in the Orkneys after a disastrous passage across the Pentland Firth. As soon as the King's anchor was down the expedition dissolved. It was then the last week of October, and the weather was so bad that the King determined to give up his return to Norway and to pass the winter in Kirkwall. To some of his men he gave leave to go, some went without asking for leave, "each ship captain looked after his own ship," and twenty ships with their crews alone remained with the King, who took up his quarters with his immediate followers in the Bishop's palace. The hardships of the expedition, however, now began to take effect on the King's constitution; he was taken ill almost as soon as he stepped ashore, and after lingering for six weeks the great Hacon, Hacon's son, passed away on December 15th, 1263, in the sixtieth year of his stormy life, the last of the great sea-kings of Norway.

Our story is told: the remaining pages of the Saga and the Appendices contain but little of interest in comparison with the details of the great Epic which has been described in this Preface, an Epic which needs little or no apology for its inclusion in the Series of Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland.

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## ERRATA.

- Page 1, line 8 from foot, *for* "Hroarr" *read* "Hroar."  
 Page 1, line 6 from foot, *for* "Einarr" *read* "Einar."  
 Page 1, first marginal note, *for* "Sverri's" *read* "Sverrir's."  
 Page 22, line 11, *dele* "the."  
 Page 29, line 18, *for* "inherirance" *read* "inheritance."  
 Page 37, line 10, *for* "Benni" *read* "Benny."  
 Page 41, line 8 from foot, *for* "liegmen" *read* "liegemen."  
 Page 46, line 5, *for* "Birchskanks" *read* "Birchshanks."  
 Page 50, line 19 from foot, *for* "Eiliff" *read* "Eilif."  
 Page 83, before second paragraph insert "92."  
 Page 91, line 1, *for* "Nidaross" *read* "Nidaros."  
 Page 94, last marginal note, *for* "Askel" *read* "Askell."  
 Page 114, five lines from foot, *for* "Klement" *read* "Clement."  
 Page 115, line 3, *for* "Thord" *read* "Thorir."  
 Page 124, second marginal note, *for* "Askel" *read* "Askell."  
 Page 125, first marginal note, *for* "Askel" *read* "Askell."  
 Page 134, second marginal note, *for* "flys" *read* "flies."  
 Page 137, line 4 from foot, *for* "guerdeon" *read* "guerdon."  
 Page 142, second marginal note, *for* "Askel" *read* "Askell."  
 Page 144, line 13, *for* "Harold" *read* "Hacon."  
 Page 147, line 6, *for* "Dionisius" *read* "Dionysius."  
 Page 149, first marginal note, *for* "Waldunon" *read* "Waldemar."  
 Page 151, line 17, *for* "Opak" *read* "Ospak."  
 Page 151, line 7 from foot, *for* "Einrid" *read* "Eindrid."  
 Page 152, line 16 from foot, *for* "Sky" *read* "Skye."  
 Page 168, first marginal note, *for* "from" *read* "for."  
 Page 180, line 17 from foot, *for* "Hroald" *read* "Roald."  
 Page 189, last line, *for* "morman" *read* "moorman."  
 Page 232, line 11 from foot, *for* "tront" *read* "trout."  
 Page 242, line 6 from foot, *for* "unto" *read* "into."  
 Page 245, line 13, *for* "calends" *read* "kalends."  
 Page 247, line 13 from foot, *for* "Byrgir" *read* "Birgir."  
 Page 282, before second paragraph, *insert* "276."  
 Page 285, line 3, *for* "bard" *read* "Bard."  
 Page 291, first marginal note, *dele* "in the Bay."  
 Page 294, "Valencia" should apparently be "Palencia."  
 Page 319, last line but one, *insert* "Ör."  
 Page 344, before second paragraph, *insert* "319."  
 Page 345, line 5, *for* "Gaul's" *read* "Gaut's."  
 Page 346, line 18 from foot, *for* "off" *read* "of."  
 Page 384, line 7, *for* "Olof" *read* "Olaf."

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In the footnotes to the Text H. refers to the Codex Holmensis; Fr. to the Codex Frisianus; Fl. to the Codex Flateyensis; Esp. to the MS. known as Eirspennil or Brass-clasp.





## THE SAGA OF HACON, HACON'S SON.

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In the days of Pope Innocent, who was the third A.D. 1203.  
with that name in the apostolic chair, those tidings  
were done in the Northern lands which are put together  
in this book of the life of king Hacon the son of  
king Hacon, Sverrir's son. Then there had passed  
from the incarnation of our Lord Jesu Christ M.CC.  
and three winters. Then were emperors over the  
Roman Empire, Philip of Suabia out in Apulia, and  
Otho son of Henry duke of Brunswick north of the  
Alps. They fought against each other until Philip of  
Suabia was slain by duke Philip his serving man.  
Then was king over Denmark Waldemar Waldemar's  
son, but Sörkvir Karl's son in Sweden, John Henry's  
son in England who was called Lackland, but Hacon Hacon  
Sverrir's  
son, king  
of Norway  
Sverrir's son was king in Norway. That was one  
winter after the death of king Sverrir. That winter  
king Hacon had his abode north in Drontheim, and  
about spring he fared south to Bergen, there he dwelt  
a little while. Thence he fared south along the land  
and right on east all up to the Land's end. There  
were then with him many noble men; Hacon the mad,  
king Sverrir's sister's son, and Peter caster another  
sister's son of his, Sigurd king's kinsman, Hroarr  
king's kinsman, Eyvind priest's brother-in-law, Dagfinn  
the yeoman, Einarr the king's brother-in-law, and  
many other liegemen and chiefs of bands. When king  
Hacon fared from the east from the Elf, he stayed  
very long at Borg in the autumn. Then there was He be-  
comes  
acquainted  
with Inga.  
with him that woman whose name was Inga, a good  
woman and faithful; she was of good stock, a kins-

A.D. 1203. woman of Audun of Borg; and she had many good kinsmen in the Borg district who were called Varteigingers or Varteig's men. Inga was in the lodging of king Hacon and the king slept with her in the same bed, so that Hacon the mad and more of his trusty men knew it. King Hacon fared away from Borg and up the Bay to Oslo, and after that north up the land. From Oslo queen Margaret whom king Sverrir had to wife and lady Christine their daughter fared with him. King Hacon came to Bergen before the Yule fast, and made ready there for a great Yule feast. That winter in Yule-tide king Hacon took that sickness which brought him to death. He breathed his last the eighth day of Yule.

Death of  
Hacon,  
Sverri's  
son.

A.D. 1204. 2. The ninth day of Yule the Birchshanks took them a king, Guttorm son of Sigurd lord. The tenth day of Yule the king gave Hacon the mad his kinsman the title of earl, and he undertook then the leading of the troops. In the spring the Birchshanks fare north to Drontheim. There Guttorm was taken to be king at the Eyra-Thing over the whole land according to the law. That same summer king Guttorm breathed his last at Nidaros. After the death of king Guttorm the Birchshanks held the Eyra-Thing. There it was spoken of choosing a king; the troops wished to take as king earl Hacon, but the men of Drontheim spoke against it, and wished to take as king Ingí Bard's son, the son of Guttorm and Cecilia king's daughter, the earl's brother by the same mother.<sup>1</sup> They said that he was no farther from the kingdom on the mother's side than earl Hacon his brother, and thought that the earl was an outlander by his father's stock, but Ingí was a Norwegian and born to property in Drontheim and come of the best families

Guttorm  
king of  
Norway.  
Death of  
king  
Guttorm.

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<sup>1</sup> H. reads Ingí son of Bard, the son of Guttorm and Cecilia daughter of king Sigurd Harold's son. Ingí was brother of earl Hacon by the same mother.

which were in Norway. Archbishop Eric backed the A.D. 1204.  
 Drontheimers in this matter. So there was no other  
 help for it but that they would settle whom they <sup>Ingi</sup>  
 should have for a king. So the Thing ended that <sup>Bard's son,</sup>  
 Ingí was chosen king. But those brothers made that <sup>king of</sup>  
 settlement between them that Ingí gave his brother <sup>Norway.</sup>  
 the title of earl; but as for the realm they should  
 each have half of it against the other; but Hacon  
 should undertake to lead their band, for he was  
 more wont to ruling the body-guard and tried in  
 hardihood.

3. The summer after Ingí was chosen king, as was  
 written before, but they, the Dane king and bishop  
 Nicholas, set up a band of Crozier-men in the Bay. Inga,  
 of whom was before spoken, was then east in the Borg-  
 stewardship at that district which is called Heggín and  
 at that abode which is called Folkinsberg. There that  
 priest sang mass whose name was Thronð. Then  
 Inga fell sick and bore a man-child. But Thronð the  
 priest knew that king Hacon Sverrir's son was father  
 of the boy. He christened the boy and gave it <sup>Hacon,</sup>  
 the name of Hacon, and went secretly with it so that <sup>Hacon's</sup>  
 he trusted no one to keep it save his two sons or <sup>son born</sup>  
 his wife. Thronð the priest fostered the child secretly. <sup>in the</sup>  
<sup>Borg-</sup>  
<sup>steward-</sup>  
<sup>ship.</sup>  
 There was a man named Erlend of Husaby, he was  
 a kinsman of king Sverrir of the stock of Guttorm  
 greybeard. Thronð the priest went to see Erlend,  
 and they took counsel in the boy's business that  
 they would deal with it as secretly as they could.  
 Those next twelve months the boy was with Thronð  
 the priest. But on the second winter before Yule they  
 began their journey from the east out of the Borg-  
 district, those two, Erlend and Thronð the priest. They  
 had with them the king's son, and his mother, and fared  
 as stealthily as they could to the Uplands. They came A.D. 1205.  
 on Yule eve to Hammar-chipping in Heidmark. There  
 they met two stewards of the Birchshanks, one's name



A.D. 1205. was Frederick the slobberer, the other Gjafald the Goth; they had great companies of many men, and sat in mickle dread, for there were then Crozier-men all over the Uplands. Bishop Ivar was then at Hammar; he was then as ever a great enemy of the race of king Sverrir and of all Birchshanks. Now though they fare stealthily with the boy, still the bishop became aware where the king's son had come. Then the bishop bade the boy to him at Yule and his mother, and said he was akin to the boy, as was true. But the Birchshanks put no faith in that, and said the boy should go to him after Yule; and they gave it out that he was way-weary and his mother too, so that they could not be in a great company. But as soon as ever Yule day was over the stewards let three horses be taken, and carried the boy away and his mother, and did not rest before they came north to Little-hammar. They were during Yule at a little farm very secretly. But while Yule lasted, the Birchshanks sent word over to Thotn, and to all the districts in the neighbourhood, and summoned to them all the Birchshanks that were thereabouts at

Inga and  
Hacon fly  
north  
to the  
Uplands.

A.D. 1206. once after Yule. When Yule was over they started on their journey out of Hammar-chipping, and fared thither to Little-hammar, where the boy was, and took that mother and child away with them, and turned then into Eastdale, and meant to go thence north to Drontheim. In this journey they had much hardship from bad weather and frost and snow. Sometimes they were out at nights in woods and wastes. One even the weather was so bad that they knew not whither they were going. Then they chose two men who went best on snow shoes to go with the boy; the one's name was Thorstein scuffler, the other's Skærvald shrimp. They took two farmers to guide them on their way who knew it. They fare as fast as ever they can, but still could not find their way

to the abode of men, but came to a place where there A.D. 1206.  
 was some outbuildings, and kindled fire there, and did They come  
 the best they could for the boy. After that the to East-  
 guides fared back to meet the band, and came about dale on  
 midnight back to the barn. It was hard living there, for their way  
 all the barn dripped as soon as the snow melted for to Dront-  
 the fire. Then most thought it more comfortable out heim.  
 of doors than within. There was no other food for  
 the boy than by melting snow in his mouth. But  
 the place where they were was called Nafardale.  
 They got into such unpassable places that they could  
 hardly break through the snow otherwise than by  
 thrusting it down with their spearshafts, just as each  
 man could break it. But wherever they came in  
 Eastdale, there the farmers made them the best cheer  
 and lent them horses and showed them the way.

So have wise men said that that hardship and Hacon  
 toil which the Birchshanks had in this journey, to- treads in  
 gether with the dread which they had of their foes ere the foot-  
 they came with the king's son north into Drontheim steps of  
 was most like those hardships and toils which Olaf Olaf  
 Tryggvi's son and his mother Astrida fell into on Tryggvi's  
 their journey, when they fled out of Norway east to son.  
 Sweden to escape the power of Gunnhilda king's-  
 mother and her sons. As it is said in Hacon's song  
 which Sturla Thord's son made :—

The Etheling turned his noble head,  
 True to the stock of Tryggvi's son,  
 What time the princely Youngling child  
 Fled to the fells to save his life.

Erling stonewall, earl Philip and the chiefs of the The  
 Crozier-men who sat in Tunsberg got news from Crozier-  
 bishop Nicholas how these two, Erlend of Husaby men pursue  
 and Thronnd the priest, had fared away out of the them,  
 Borg-district to the Uplands. It was also told them  
 that in their company was a son of king Hacon  
 Sverrir's son. As soon as they heard these tidings

A.D. 1206. then they sent eight captains of companies with a great force to the Uplands to search for the boy, and but cannot catch them. bade them take all pains to get hold of him. But when they came up into Heidmark those Birchshanks who had the boy were off and away and into East-dale, and making their way north to the fells. The Crozier-men heard that much people drew to them. And because that the weather was then hard and travelling heavy the Crozier-men could not trust themselves to follow them. They turned back into Heidmark. As Sturla says:—

But to seek the chieftain fared  
Of Croziermen eight companies  
To the Uplands boun for war,  
If haply they might find the prince.

And again:—

Christ in a happy hour had cast  
The helm of darkness o'er the king;  
When the mighty monarch's offspring,  
Cheerful from the contest came.

The Birchshanks flock to the boy.

The Birchshanks went on north along the dales with the boy. But though it was hard travelling, still then many men came to them from all the farms, Birchshanks and yeomen's sons out of Gudbrand's dale who wished to follow the boy. Two stewards came into East-dale, the one's name was Seming, and the other's Thorbrand the swarthy; now there were two hundred and eighty men and more than that number of lads. They came down north off the fell at that farm which is called Al at the top of Gaulardale. Then all at once they thought themselves set free from all risk. But for all that men must not wonder that All-ruling God should have especially shown his mercy to those kings' sons Olaf Tryggvi's son and Hacon as is now here said, and freed them from the power of their enemies; as he had appointed both of them to such great glory; the one to be the beginning of Christianity in the realm of the king of

They come from the fells into Gaulardale.



Norway, the other to strengthen it more than any A.D. 1206. other Norway king by the help of the saint king Olaf in church building and lawgiving, and many other furtherings of God's Christianity, as was known to those men who lived in his time, and knew plainly his temper and behaviour.

4. King Ingi was in Nidaros with a great force. King Ingi in Nidaros hears of their coming, and welcomes the boy and his mother. He got news of that, that a band had come from the east across the fell; but it was late before he got that learnt of a surety, for the Birchshanks fared leisurely down along the inhabited country as they were very way-weary. That rumour flew about the country that a king's son was in their company; but none could say what king's son he was. Many thought that strife must arise, for in that time many bands of rovers had arisen both in Denmark and east on the Borders. It was also told king Ingi that a great force had come from the east across the fells; and that it was more than likely that they had a king's son with them. But for that king Ingi had no sure news of their doings, then he made them summon his force by trumpet out to Little-borg and sent two of his body-guard up on to the hill, Gunnar spike, and Eyvind Sam's son. They rode as fast as they could. And as they came on the hill they met those men whom the stewards had sent before them to find the king, and then they all turned back together to the king, and told all about their journey, how they had a king's son with them, the son of his kinsman king Hacon. The king and all who heard it thanked God. After that he directed all the force back to the town, but he himself and all his body-guard waited till they came with the boy. The king took the boy (in his arms) and kissed him, and bade his kinswoman welcome to him and his whole court. Then they all turned together home to the town. The boy and his mother were with the king in good cheer. All the

A.D. 1207. old Birchshanks were very fain of the boy, and went every day to see the boy for love's sake to his father and not less to his grandfather. The spring after the Crozier-men made a dash on Drontheim; but the summer after there was great strife in the land with the Crozier-men and Birchshanks. Then earl Hacon gave battle in Bergen. But in the autumn they fared north to Drontheim, king Ingi and earl Hacon, and sat there the winter over. Then the earl took the king's son into his house and his mother, because lady Christine was then with him. The earl laid so much store on the king's son that he treated him in everything as though he were his son; and gave it out over and over again before his men, that he and king Ingi both kept that boy out of his inheritance. That winter Erling stone-wall died. But the Crozier-men chose as king their earl Philip. In the winter after, when the king's son was three winters old, those two, king Ingi and earl Hacon, fared from the north out of Drontheim with a great force and south to Bergen, and thence south to the Bay. Then earl Hacon left behind him in the castle lady Christine his wife and Hacon the king's son and his mother. There too was lady Christine king Sverrir's daughter. They were in the castle during the summer until the Crozier-men came to Bergen, and the Birchshanks gave up the castle to the Crozier-men by the advice of Thorir the archbishop, who was then in Bergen. But when the castle was given up, then Philip the leader of the Crozier-men took the king's son into his house and he was three nights with the Crozier-men. It happened one day that the Crozier-men bore the boy into a gallery in a loft over the wharf off which the long-ships lay. They said to the king's son "See long-ships, king's son!" "I see them," he said. "Who owns them?" they said. "My lord," quoth the boy. "Thy lord is king Philip," they said. "He is not my lord," said the boy. "Earl Hacon is my lord and

The old Birchshanks are very fond of the boy.

Earl Hacon takes the boy and his mother into his house.

Hacon falls into the hands of the Crozier-men at Bergen.

" he owns the ships." They laughed at that and said "This boy will never be true to us, Crozier-men." Hreidar the messenger was then the greatest leader among the Crozier-men, and councillor to the band. He called to speak with him some captains of companies out of the councillors of the Crozier-men, and said "If we dared to put our hands to mighty deeds " then we have now such a chance in our business as " we never yet had, and we might take away all " strength from the Birchshanks, and all the land would " be with us." They asked what chance that was. "We have," he answers, "in our power the son of king " Hacon Sverrir's son that chief whom all the folk loved. " I know also that all the old Birchshanks so loved his " father that they would readily serve his offspring and " lay down their lives for him. Now if we chose him " to be king over our band, but gave him the title of earl " who before is called our king; we at least all under- " stand this who are now here at this meeting, that we " know the laws of the saint king Olaf in this case, that " he is rightful king who is a king's son, but not a " daughter's son or a sister's son of kings as we now " serve on both sides, Birchshanks and Crozier-men; me- " thought it were most honour to our leader that he " should keep his guard over both the kingdom and " the king; me-thought that he were then both king " and earl over Norway." The councillors of the Cro- zier-men who were at the meeting said some that it was a masterpiece of counsel; but some called it unbecom- ing to take the post of king from that leader who by their strength and trustiness had already got the title of king. But still the best reason was that the Crozier- men dared not utter this plan, because they thought their king would be very wroth with them. At that time the Crozier-men got news how that earl Hacon was on his way from the south and would quickly come to the town. But the Crozier-men would not

A.D. 1207.  
 Proposal  
 to make  
 the boy  
 king of the  
 Crozier-  
 men after  
 the death  
 of Erling  
 stonewall  
 instead of  
 earl  
 Philip.

The  
 Crozier-  
 men fly  
 from Ber-  
 gen, and  
 leave the  
 boy in the  
 keeping of  
 the arch-  
 bishop.

A.D. 1207. wait for him on any account, and got ready to go away in a hurry. Then archbishop Thorir went to lord Philip and begged him to hand over to him the king's son. And he did so at the prayer of the archbishop. The archbishop got the king's son into his keeping, and he was with him till the earl came from the east. Earl Hacon took gladly to the boy; thanked God that he was come out of the hands of the Crozier-men, and said that he should never part from him again. Then the boy went to the earl and his mother; and he was with him ever afterwards wherever he was, either in towns or on shipboard.

Earl  
Hacon  
takes sole  
charge of  
Hacon.

A.D. 1208. The next winter after, when the boy was in his fourth winter, and men called it the bad winter, but the Birchshanks called it Selisle winter, because they lay in the autumn long in the Seljarisles, then the king's son was with the earl; he had Olafs-clinker, she was a ship of thirty-one benches; then there were great frosts, so that all their drink froze; and the butter was so hard that they could not spread it on the bread for the king's son. But he would always be foremost with the body-guard, for all were good to him who were best and oldest. The earl gave the king's son a cake of flour baked thick and soft, so that one could fold it together. The king's son stood before the body-guard, and it was very cold. He saw that some of them bit first a bit of bread and then a bit of butter. He took the butter and folded it up in his cake, and said, "Let us now fettle the butter, Birchshanks." But all laughed at him who heard it. That saying was so famous that all in the host took it up as a proverb: "Now let us fettle the butter, Birchshanks, " so bids the king's son." The boy was very sprightly though his stature and years were so little; he was very forward in speech and merry tongued, so that the earl and all others who heard him had fun in the words of the boy. The Birchshanks often took hold of him

The  
"bad"  
winter for  
great  
frost.

The boy  
teaches the  
Birch-  
shanks  
how to  
fettle their  
butter,  
and all  
were fond  
of him.



two at once and tugged, one held his head and the other his heels, for mirth's sake; and said they would draw him out. They said so because they thought he grew too little. A.D. 1208.

5. When Hacon the king's son was seven winters old the earl let them put him to book learning. But when he had been a while a-learning the earl asked "What learnest thou, Hacon?" "I learn chaunting, my Lord," said he. The earl answers, "Thou shalt not learn chaunting, thou shalt be neither priest nor bishop." The earl and lady Christine also had much love for the king's son; but for all that her temper was so, as it is with most women, that sometimes she spoke softly to him, but sometimes hardly when she was wrath, and said she did not know whose son he was. And when the earl heard her answers he said, "Thou shalt not speak so; all men know this, that I and my brother, we two, keep him out of his property and inheritance." That he often said in the hearing of all men. The Birchshanks and Crozier-men came to terms in Hviting's isles in the summer after Selisle winter. But when they were reconciled, and peace was made in all the land, then earl Hacon had dealings with his friends that he wished to let himself be chosen king over a third of the land. But king Ingi put in the way a right down "No." After that the earl began another way out of his difficulty. He had a lawful son who was called squire Canute; but the king had a base-born son whose name was Guttorm. The earl offered that the king and he should make that bargain between them; that he of them who lived longest should take the whole kingdom after the other, if he (the other) had not a lawfully begotten son. But that lawfully begotten heir of them twain who lived longest after both of them should have all Norway and all the rest of their inheritance. This compact A.D. 1211.

The earl puts Hacon to book learning.

The earl's wish to be made king, but king Ingi says "No." They come to an agreement.

A.D. 1208-1217. — was so given out at the Eyra-Thing that Thorir the archbishop, and Eric the archbishop, and Nicholas the bishop, and Martin the bishop, and a host of other men were present. This bargain was confirmed with the seals of the king and earl and bishops.

The boy's wise answer to Helgi. 6. Hæcon the king's son was then as ever with the earl. One day, when the Thing was held, the boy got leave to go over to the Bank to his kinswoman Astrida. He got home at even after meat. There was a man there in the earl's bodyguard whose name was Helgi the keen, an old Birchshank; he had been one of king Sverrir's bodyguard. Helgi loved the boy much, and he was often wont to be with him. He now went to Helgi to play with him. Helgi thrust the boy away from and bade him be off. The boy answers "Why art thou wrath, my Helgi?" He thrust him from him a second time. The boy answers in the same-wise as before. Helgi was somewhat sterntempered and sad. "Be off now," he said, "for 'to-day the inheritance of thy fathers was doomed away from thee; and that's why I do not care for thee.'" "Where was that done?" answers the boy, "or who did it?" "It was done at Eyra-Thing," says Helgi, "but those who did it were those brothers 'king Ingi and earl Hæcon.'" The boy answers like a wise and grown man. "Be not wrath with me, 'Helgi,'" said he, "and give no heed to this, for it is hard to see whether this doom will be held or not; because there was no spokesman of mine there to 'auswer on my behalf.'" Helgi looked at the boy and said, "Who is thy spokesman?" "God," he answers, "and the saint king Olaf; to them and into 'their hands have I put my quarrel, and they will 'take care of my interests when there is a question 'of sharing the land or of luck.'" That all heard who stood by, and all thought it strange. Helgi took the boy up and kissed him kindly and said, "Good

“ luck go with thy words, king’s son ; better is it to  
 “ speak so than not at all.” That was soon told to  
 the earl and he said little about it, but lady Christine  
 was very wroth and spoke hard to the boy. The earl  
 fared away after the Thing south to Bergen and the  
 king’s son with him. All the old Birchshanks loved  
 the boy all the more as they saw how his wit and  
 strength waxed ; and for that lady Christine was  
 somewhat more stiff to the boy than she had been  
 before.

7. There was a man called Hidi, he was a brother of  
 Sigurd squinter ; they both served king Sverrir long.  
 But when Philip the Crozier-men’s king got lady  
 Christine, king Sverrir’s daughter, to wife, then Hidi  
 went north with her and was there so long as she  
 lived. But after her death he went back to earl  
 Hacon. At this time he was with the earl. Hidi  
 was aware that lady Christine was somewhat set  
 against the king’s son, and he thought that the earl  
 was of the same temper. Hidi began to speak one  
 day to the earl in this wise : “ Here is a boy with  
 “ you who is called the son of king Hacon, and it may  
 “ be that he will grow up here, that many men will  
 “ love him both for his father’s and grandfather’s  
 “ sakes, and it may not be easy for your son to step  
 “ into the kingdom after you if he stands against  
 “ him. Now I know that if such things had sprung  
 “ up in foreign lands, then such a plan would be  
 “ taken that the ruler of that land would have no  
 “ need to fear as to his offspring, and this (boy) would  
 “ be sent to other lands to those rulers who had no  
 “ friendship to bestow on him, and he would either  
 “ be maimed or shut up so that there would be no  
 “ need to dread him afterwards. And if you will I  
 “ am ready to offer myself for this undertaking ; and  
 “ I will get the business so done that you will like  
 “ it.” The earl did not seem to like it at first ; but

A.D. 1208-  
1217.

Lady  
Christine  
rather set  
against  
the boy.

Hidi’s  
evil coun-  
sel.

A.D. 1208  
-1217.

The earl  
refuses it.

lady Christine answers a few words. But afterwards when the earl had held his peace some while he began to speak thus: "May God not will that," said he, "that I should buy in that manner the kingdom for my son, that I should supplant that man's son or grandson whom I had best to repay." This speech the earl told to few men. But he was never such good friends with Hidi as he was before.

A.D. 1214.

When  
Hacon  
was ten  
years old  
earl Hacon  
dies.

8. Hacon the king's son was then ten winters old when earl Hacon took that sickness which brought him to death. He let the boy be always with him. And at those times when he sat up then the earl made him sit at meat with him; and the earl knew few men later in his sickness than the boy. The earl died and his funeral was worthily done. But in the spring after the earl's death king Ingi came south from Drontheim to Bergen. And when he came to the town Hacon the king's son fared to king Ingi and was with him ever afterwards in good cheer. They were at school together, Hacon the king's son and Guttorm son of king Ingi, and there then befell many and various events as to their behaviour and childhood which would be thought worth bearing in mind if they were written. Guttorm was always quicker and hotter in his temper, but Hacon was more reserved and not very wild and pleasing to most men. The king kept them both alike as to clothing and other things.

Hacon  
lives with  
king Ingi.

King Ingi  
falls ill,  
and his  
brother  
Skuli  
wishes  
Ingi's son  
Guttorm to  
be chosen  
king if his  
father  
died.

9. It happened once that king Ingi was sick. Then Skuli his brother was close by him and many other captains of the king's guard; men were much afraid for the course of the king's sickness, which way it would turn. But for that the whole rule of the body guard was there where Skuli the king's brother was, next after the king; then he called to him those men who were the noblest of those who were present, Gregory John's son, Eyvind priest's brother-in-law, and



Ivar goad and goodman Dagfinn the yeoman. Skuli <sup>A.D. 1214.</sup> began his speech in this way: "Ye have heard," he said, <sup>He con-</sup> "of the course of the king's sickness, my brother, <sup>sults the</sup> "that his strength is less than our will wishes it to <sup>noblest of</sup> "be; and if God calls him from us, our darling, <sup>the body-</sup> "then we need good counsels as to whom we shall take <sup>guard, and</sup> "as king after him." Then goodman Dagfinn brother- <sup>gets an</sup> "in-law answers, "What choice is there?" Skuli answers, <sup>answer</sup> "Ye know that yourselves," he said "that here first <sup>from Ey-</sup> "is the son of king Ingi, who is well fitted to be <sup>vind</sup> "king after his father; then there are we two brothers <sup>priest's</sup> "by one father and both lawfully begotten; and ye <sup>brother-in-</sup> "know how the law speaks about that. Then there <sup>law.</sup> "is Hacon son of king Hacon Sverrir's son; but in "Gothland East is Canute son of earl Hacon; and "he is lawfully come to the title after his father. "But still I think this, that most of those who have "served king Ingi his father will rather serve his "son." They talked of this awhile and each threw in what he chose. Eyvind said less than anyone. They asked why he had so little to say. "I spoke "little about it," he answers, "because I was not "first asked; but it seems to me wonderful that "you wise men are in such doubt as to this matter, "which lies so light before the eyes of all men who "know what is right and will speak truth, that the "son of Hacon the son of Sverrir is alone rightfully "come to all power in Norway, and not thou, Skuli, "nor thy brother, and not earl Hacon's son after his "father. And if both those brothers were alive, earl "Hacon and king Ingi, on the day when Hacon the "son of king Hacon were of full age, then he might "go and claim from them his inheritance and turn "them out of the throne and seat himself on it in "their stead." And when Eyvind had delivered this judgment then there was no one to gainsay him of those who were in the house, and thus their talk came

A.D. 1214 to naught. The king got better of his illness, and he  
-1217. became as hale as he was before.

King Ingi 10. King Ingi was at feud with the Drontheimers  
curbs the for that they kept back the levies of men from him and  
Dron- other sea-service. The king fought with them at the  
heimers Rauma-Thing, as is written in his Saga. But the next  
and refuses summer after the death of earl Hacon king Ingi fared  
to grant south to Bergen and took under him all that realm  
any fiefs which the earl had before ruled over. The king sum-  
to Hacon. moned to him all the liege-men from the south of the  
land and fared north to Drontheim with a great force.

There were then with the king all the captains of companies of the Birchshanks. When the king came north to Drontheim he held on with all this host against the In-Drontheimers and met them at Voe-bridge. There they came to terms. That was called Voe-bridge summer. But when they came out again to Nidaros, the kinsmen of Hacon the king's son came to king Ingi and begged that the king would give Hacon the king's son some fief to keep himself and his kinsfolk. The king asked what they wanted. They answer that they begged for Jemtland, "for that king Sverrir his grandfather won with his sword under the realm of Norway."

Hacon  
refuses the  
counsel  
of his  
friends to  
leave king  
Ingi.

The king looked at them wrathfully and said, "It so  
" seems to me that Norway has already been so very  
" much shorn from the east by the Crozier-men that  
" we must not give him such a great fief, and I  
" cannot have the land more sundered than it now is."

They bade the king give him a ship-levy or two. The king answers thus: "I will not give him fiefs, for  
" he is so well kept with us that he lacks nothing." They went away as matters stood, and were little pleased with their lot. A few days later they led the king's son their kinsman to talk with them to the south of the Cross-Church in Chipping (Nidaros). They began their speech thus: "We think there is little, king's son, that king  
" Ingi will make up his mind to give you of Norway,

“ and he now sits in all that realm which thy father A.D. 1214.  
 “ won. There are many now who swim on a full tide  
 “ of wealth and into thine inheritance who have no  
 “ right at all to it, but thy kinsfolk fare about as  
 “ outlaws reft of all that good which ought to belong  
 “ to you. Now it is our counsel that we run away  
 “ with you and gather force, because we now hear  
 “ many old Birchshanks say that they have taken far  
 “ less goods than they have deserved. We hear also  
 “ just the same from the east from the Crozier-men that  
 “ they would soon turn away to him if they could  
 “ get anyone to put himself at their head.” But the  
 king’s son listened to them and answered nothing.  
 Then Andrew shield-band began to speak and said,  
 “ Now we, thy kinsmen, wish, king’s son, to have you  
 “ away with us from the king, and it will not be  
 “ long before other men ask thee for honour no less  
 “ than thou now needest to ask it of others.” Just  
 in the same way spoke to the king’s son his kins-  
 folk one after the other. Then the king’s son answers, Hæcon’s  
 “ I am much too young to undertake such great deeds ; answer  
 “ it would not be likely either that I should fight to his  
 “ against the Birchshanks, for I know that of a truth kinsmen.  
 “ that there is a great multitude of the Birchshanks  
 “ who would not part from king Ingi ; and besides, it  
 “ is unwise to set those at one another who all ought  
 “ to be under the same shield. I would rather pray  
 “ that God will give me such share of my father’s  
 “ inheritance which his mercy wills, whatever time that  
 “ comes about ; and it is not likely that I should raise  
 “ any armed band in Norway while things stand as  
 “ they now are.” This talk lasted no longer at that  
 time.

11. When two winters had passed since the death A.D. 1217.  
 of earl Hæcon and the third was come, and was King  
 passing away, king Ingi took a sickness, and it did Ingi’s last  
 not run its course very fast at first. The king let illness.

A.D. 1217. Hacon the king's son be ever with him, for he always took pleasure in his words. The boy was very gamesome and merry-tongued. There was a man named Nicholas, the king's steward; he was a cheerful man and gamesome. The king had them with him by day, and made the king's son and Nicholas talk, and caught mirth from their words, and thought then his sickness lighter. The king lay long; and just as his sickness went on his strength was greatly lessened. His brother Skuli watched over him. The king's friends and his court talked among themselves that the king should give them such a captain as they would find strength in; and it was agreed among them that Skuli the king's brother was best fitted for that. And when the king thought he felt his strength grow so little that he could not get the realm ruled, then he did after the will of his kinsmen and friends, and led Skuli his kinsman to the throne and gave him the title of earl. Then the earl took on him the whole rule of the bodyguard. But a little after king Ingi died. That was on the 9th of the kalends of May.

Difference  
of opinion  
as to the  
succession.

12. Hacon the king's son was then thirteen winters old when king Ingi died, but Guttorm the son of king Ingi eleven winters. Then meetings of the bodyguard were held and it was talked about choosing a king, and it seemed different to different men. Then those men turned together who had before served king Sverrir, and with them the greatest part of the bodyguard. They were agreed together that they would take for their king Hacon the son of king Hacon; but earl Skuli would that his kinsman Guttorm the son of king Ingi should be chosen to be king. There were also some friends of the earl who backed that Skuli was the nearest by birthright to the kingdom; as he was the lawful brother of the king, and had the right to inherit after him both



land and chattels. But though this was not spoken A.D. 1217. out loud at first, then it got louder and louder, and came into every man's mouth at last; and next to that meetings were held of freemen and guests, and out of this rose factions on either side. But the earl would not be at any of the meetings, for he knew the will of the Birchshanks. Then the freemen both of outer and inner Drontheim came, and most of the elder men said for themselves and their sons who sat at home, that they would have him for king who was king-born by his father's side right up to heathendom, so that no woman's-knee had come between. There were also many of the yeomen who backed earl Skuli and Guttorm the king's son. But Guttorm the archbishop had gone north to Helgeland. Earl Skuli had that in his plans that he would wait for the archbishop till he were come from the north. And the Birchshanks held that for sooth that he wished that the archbishop might be made to declare what the earl wished might be. There were also some Canons and some learned clerks who would willingly put a stone in the way of king Sverrir's stock, if they might, and rather serve other kings. But whenever the earl came to the meetings of the bodyguard, then he made as though he would lay his plans with those of the bodyguard; but yet things were so spun out that they came to nothing. When the bodyguard saw that there was so much putting off, then they let the trumpeters sound one day for a meeting of the guard in the hall. They went afterwards to the earl and bade him go to the meeting. And when the earl came there stood up Vegard of Veradale and said after what the whole bodyguard had already laid down as their plan. "Lord earl," he said, "we will not any longer have delay in this matter of the king's choosing; we will hold a Thing this

Earl Skuli wishes to wait for the archbishop.

The Canons and clerks are against Sverrir's stock.

The bodyguard take action, and force the earl's hand.

A.D. 1217. " morning in the king's house; and do you, earl, take  
 The earl " Hacon the king's son and seat him on the high-seat  
 yields " by your side and call him the king apparent until  
 after con- " the Eyra-Thing is held. But if you will not do this  
 sulting " then we will draw out our ships to-morrow and  
 his friends. " fare south to Bergen to that bodyguard that is  
 " there; there we will summon a meeting round all  
 " the land where the Gula Thing's law runs, and we  
 " will take him there for our king. We lay his  
 " quarrel and our own in God's power, and that of  
 " the saint king Olaf." But when the bodyguard was  
 so fast set on this, and they would not let it be put  
 off in any way, then the earl said that it should be  
 as they liked. After the meeting of the bodyguard  
 the earl calls to talk with him all his friends, clerks  
 and laymen alike; and they were all day a-talking  
 and the night after about this business. But men  
 were not told what their counsel was. Then the  
 morning after the captains of the guard let the horns  
 blow for a meeting of the whole people up at the  
 king's court; and the earl let them set up a high-seat  
 to the south of Nicholas church. Then Vegard stood  
 up and spoke of the same matter as was spoken the  
 day before at the meeting of the bodyguard. After  
 that Gregorius John's son, a liegeman, stood up and  
 said, " We thought this," said he, " that this should  
 Vegard " not be done by an onslaught; better were it that  
 and Onund " the archbishop should have been waited for, and so  
 speak at " that other bishops and all the wisest men in the land  
 a meeting. " should have been summoned hither, and that we should  
 " have had their counsel in such great matters." Then  
 Onund the standard-bearer said, " It will not behove us  
 " Birchshanks to wait for the long sermons of the bishops  
 " in this matter; for they will little follow the laws  
 " of the saint king Olaf or the need of the land in  
 " this quarrel, so soon as any one of king Sverrir's  
 " stock has any part in it. Then there is that other

“ man in this quarrel, as is known to all, that the A.D. 1217.  
 “ Croziermen sit in the Bay east with a great host  
 “ and say they have a king over them. But if they  
 “ become aware that we sit with a headless host, and  
 “ yet not agreed among ourselves, then we shall not  
 “ have long to wait for them, and men will back  
 “ the game along with them against us; but learned  
 “ clerks are little friends of ours, and we have no  
 “ other left whom we will back in the king’s stock  
 “ but to back ourselves so long as God will back  
 “ us.”

13. After that they named twelve men at the meeting to go thither where the king’s son was, but he was then in the school up at Christ’s Church; they went into the school. He that was their chief spoke in these words to the king’s son, “ All the old “ Birchshanks and townsfolk and yeomen who are “ here present send you, king’s son, God’s greeting “ and then ours. The Birchshanks are now sitting “ in the king’s yard and await you.” They took the king’s son by the hand, and led him away with them. And when they came thither to the meeting where the earl was, and sat on a chair before them, and said that he could not set him so hastily in the high-seat “because there were many who did not “ think they were quite sure whether he is the son “ of king Hacon or not.” Then answer was made on behalf of the king’s son: “ That first winter that he “ came to king Ingi he received him as his true “ kinsman, and he had never any doubt of it that “ he was the son of king Hacon Sverrir’s son. Just “ the same did earl Hacon also, so long as they “ both lived, the king and the earl, then they showed “ by their behaviour and treatment that he was their “ true kinsman. This (story) must have come from “ those roots and redes which have now sprung up “ for a while from the old hatred of those men who

The Birchshanks carry the day, and bring Hacon’s son to the meeting.

The earl’s doubts whether he is king Hacon’s son.

This is to be settled by the ordeal of iron.

A.D. 1217. " will supplant the royal race here in Norway, and  
 " bring forward those who have no right to the  
 " throne." After that the kinsfolk of the king's son  
 stood up, and some others who knew most about the  
 matter, and said they would gladly go to the ordeal  
 on behalf of the boy rather than that he should lose  
 the inheritance of his fathers.

The young  
 king's  
 mother is  
 to bear  
 the iron,  
 but it was  
 poked  
 away.

14. Now they go away from the meeting; but  
 Inga the mother of the king's son (goes) to Peter's  
 Church and there she fasted for (the ordeal of) the  
 the iron, as is the custom. But while this was going  
 on there were many night-meetings between the earl  
 and some Canons and some more clerkly men who  
 were against the king's son. But when the iron was  
 to have been borne it was poked away and no man  
 knew what had become of it. Some of the Canons  
 said that they dared not let the iron be borne before  
 the archbishop came back. As soon as the captains of  
 the guard and the Birchshanks saw how things were  
 going, then they still kept on with their plan never-  
 theless, and sent word to men all over the land where  
 Drontheim law ran, and summoned the Eyra-Thing  
 that it should be after a month's delay. They also  
 named men to follow the king's son every day and  
 called him ever their king-apparent, and let him sit  
 in the high seat by the earl, though that was not  
 much to his mind.

The Eyra-  
 Thing to  
 be held  
 after a  
 month's  
 delay.  
 The men  
 of the  
 south  
 declare for  
 Hacon,  
 and send  
 Goodman  
 Dagfinn  
 with  
 letters to  
 the men  
 of Dront-  
 heim,

15. When these tidings were happening as were  
 now spoken of, Dagfinn the lawman and king's marshal  
 came from the south of the land. He had letters from  
 Havard, who was then bishop-designate in Bergen, and  
 from the liegemen out of the Gula-Thing's law. When  
 Dagfinn was new-come to the town the horns were  
 blown for a meeting of the body-guard, and there  
 those letters were read out in which this stood:  
 " We have heard of the decease of our king Ingi; that  
 " was by a great deal sooner than our will would have



" had it if we might have had our way. So too we have A.D. 1217.  
 " heard that there is some talking in two ways as to and  
 " who shall come in the king's stead, and it is threaten  
 " wonderful that, wise men as ye are, you should be to carry  
 " of two minds about what we thought must be as Hacon off  
 " clear as day to all. For this we say that we to be  
 " know no one entitled to bear the title of king chosen  
 " save Hacon the son of king Hacon; for that his king at  
 " stock has always ruled over Norway, man after the Gula-  
 " man. Now we wish that ye should know truly our Thing.  
 " will in this matter, that we will serve no king but  
 " him; and we will lay down ourselves and all that  
 " belongs to us for his sake, to guard him and his  
 " inheritance. But any other whom ye chose for  
 " king then we will be against him both the  
 " fighting men and all others who dwell where the  
 " Gula-Thing law runs. But if ye men of Dront-  
 " heim will in any way put forward those men  
 " who are your kinsmen or foster-brothers, though  
 " they may have some kinship or trace their pedigree  
 " to the kings, and so should each of them follow  
 " their kinsmen or foster-brothers, then it may be  
 " that there will be soon very many ness-kings (petty  
 " kings). But we think that though any others may  
 " be of two minds about the choice of a king, then  
 " ye at least, men of Drontheim, would be of one stead-  
 " fast mind; and so we think that there may be some-  
 " thing hid which is nowhere said. Goodman Dagfinn  
 " and Hroar the king's kinsman can tell you all our  
 " will in this matter, and those others who wish to  
 " back our letters."

16. When the letter was read, then goodman Dagfinn Goodman  
 stood up and spoke many words, and closed his busi- Dagfinn  
 ness thus: "If," said he, "Hacon be not soon chosen makes a  
 " king then we Birchshanks wish to carry him south speech.  
 " to Bergen, and we bear this errand on behalf of  
 " all the men under the Gula-Thing's law." Then

A.D. 1217. arose a great shout, as before, on the part of all the Birchshanks, and they said that nothing should be carried out but this, whatever any one might say. And so that meeting ended. And while this was happening the message to come to the Thing was passing round the districts; and pains taken that as many as possible should come to the Thing.

The Eyra-Thing held, and Hacon chosen king.

The Canons refuse to let the shrine of saint Olaf be borne out.

17. That day on which the Eyra-Thing was summoned a great host of freemen out of the districts came to the town, as was the custom when a king was chosen. The horns were blown in the old fashion and all the folk arrayed out on the Eres. Then men were sent to the Canons, that the shrine of the saint king Olaf should be borne out. But when men came to the church then it was locked up, but the sextons said that the Canons laid a ban on every man against breaking open the church so as to take out the shrine. And when this was heard at the Thing then that plan was taken that Hacon was given the title of king after rightful custom, and that man did that whose name was Skervald of Gaulardale; and then land and men were awarded him, and all the Drontheimers owned that they owed him all rightful obedience and help, as thoroughly as both he had sworn oaths to them and they to him. And so that Thing ended. The day after the horns sounded to a meeting of the bodyguard, and all the liegemen came to it and swore oaths to both of them, king Hacon and earl Skuli, and sword-takers were made, each with such titles as had of yore been had under king Ingi.

The king and the earl sail for Bergen.

18. Straightway after that these two, king Hacon and earl Skuli, busked them south to Bergen and had one twenty-benched ship, but Eilif the chaplain steered the guests'-cutter. Asolf the king's kinsman steered the third ship, that was an eighteen-bencher. But when they were rowing out of the town, then the earl stayed

behind, but the king went with the ship. There was little wind on, and they rowed into the shore by Hattarhammar. Then these two, Eilif and Asolf, strove for their berth; he had many men with him, but the guests wanted to thrust Asolf out of his berth. But he had come to it a little before them. And first of all oars and forks flew. Afterwards each took to their weapons, and there was a tussle for a while, for the ships lay alongside. But when the king's ship ran up, then they saw that swords were drawn on those ships. The king called out to the steersman, bade him steer straight between the ships, and made the men row as hard as they could. So he said they would soonest be able to part them. But when the king's ship ran between the ships, then they were parted, and neither could do the other harm. There were many men wounded on either ship. After that the king called them all up on land, and made them friends again. Now the earl also came out from the town, and after that they sailed out of the firth. They had a fair wind south to Bergen; they ran in at even by Hegraness. Next morning at daybreak goodman Dagfinn came to them out of the town, and said that letters had come from the north to the bishop-designate and the Canons from the Canons (at Nidaros) that they should show no honour to king Hacon. Dagfinn said that they thought they had got into a strait, for they dreaded the wrath of the archbishop and the Canons, but on the other hand they would willingly yield the king homage and all the honour that they might. The earl was short as to answering about that, and said it would matter very little whatever they did. "If," answers Dagfinn, "they go about here in the same way as they did in Drontheim, all the honour which belongs to the king will soon be washed off." Then the king said, "Goodman Dagfinn, go into the town. Say

A.D. 1217.  
 On the way king Hacon makes up a brawl.  
 The Canons at Bergen behave better, but are afraid of the archbishop.  
 King Hacon's message to them.

A.D. 1217. " this to the Canons, that I look to be best honoured  
 " by them of all the men that are in the land. But  
 " if they do otherwise, then it will not be long before  
 " they shall know whether it likes us well or ill."  
 Then Dagfinn rowed into the town and told the  
 Canons the king's words, and also what the earl said.

The king  
 enters  
 Bergen.

19. The Canons answer so, that they would willingly  
 do the king all honour; they said they would not so  
 buy the friendship of the archbishop or the Canons  
 in Drontheim as to lose against it the good will of the  
 king. After that the king rowed in to the town, and  
 there was ringing all over the town; but the clerks  
 went to meet him in the most honourable way. There

The Gula-  
 Thing  
 sum-  
 moned.

were then summoned all the liegemen and captains who  
 were under the Gula Things law, and men were now  
 called in great numbers out of the districts, and a day  
 of meeting was fixed on the eve of the Seljamen, when  
 all were to come to Bergen. But while this was  
 being bidden they, the king and the earl, were in the  
 town. The king was young, and for his childhood's  
 sake cared more for his games than for ruling  
 the land. But all that while the earl was taking  
 counsel with his friends, and sent letters both south  
 and north into the land; it was unknown to most men  
 what was in them, and few were shown to the king.

Earl  
 Skuli's  
 dealings  
 with the  
 Crozier-  
 men.

Then men were sent east to the Bay to Philip the  
 Crozier-men's king, and the earl sought for friendship  
 and fellowship there. But when the king's friends  
 raised these things before the king, that such attempts  
 were suspicious that friendship should be looked for  
 thither where enmity had always been; then the  
 king answers that earl Skuli was so wise a man that  
 he would be able to spy out friends for himself. "I  
 " ween that will be harmless to me, though he has  
 " many friends of his own; for he will keep well the

The king  
 refuses to  
 believe  
 harm of  
 earl Skuli.



“ agreement between us for his part; and as for myself, A.D. 1217.  
 “ I do not mean to be the first to break it.”

20. Earl Skuli let letters be sent west across the sea to earl John in the Orkneys, and on them was the king's seal, and the king knew nothing of it, and nothing of what was in the letters. That man went with the letters whose name was Jostein, and was called paunch; he was a guest. And when the letters came out to sea men became aware of them on the king's ships, and sent word in to Ivar dart and goodman Dagfinn, the king's counsellors, and said that the king's seal was on the letters sent by Jostein. Then Ivar went to the king and asked if he knew aught of these letters. The king said he did not know. Ivar said it were better that he should see those letters which were sent with the king's seal to other lands. Then the king sent men to Herdluver after the letters. The earl became aware of this, and sent at once his men on another ship; and they were quicker, and got the letters before the king's men came. And at once when they came into the town the earl let the horns blow for a meeting of the guard, and laid great charges against Ivar dart and other of the king's councillors; (and) said that they would bring about discord between himself and him, and throw mistrust on the earl in his government. Then Gregory John's son stood up, a kinsman of the earl, and then still little friendly to the king. He spoke hotly to Ivar dart in these words:

“ I was first on the tale of those men who swore  
 “ oaths to be trusty to the king and the earl, and we  
 “ thought that we should be all one. But now a single  
 “ priest will spoil the harmony of all us Birch-  
 “ shanks. And that shall never answer. Let us take  
 “ him and chastise him first, so that all may be wit-  
 “ nesses.” Afterwards on this a great company of the  
 kinsmen and friends of earl Skuli sprang up, and said

The earl  
sends  
letters  
with the  
king's seal  
to earl  
John in  
the Ork-  
neys.

Ivar  
dart  
detects  
this.

Rage of  
Skuli's  
friends  
against  
Ivar.

A.D. 1217. they would tear asunder Ivar alive. Ivar stood up and begged for a hearing, but could not get it. Then the king's friends sprang before him and guarded him so that he took no harm; and there was then a great uproar in the body guard. After that the king stood up and said, "I am not much of a speaker, but still  
 " I will ask this, that ye listen to Ivar my foster-father  
 " and answer afterwards as you like." Hroar the king's kinsman says that so it should surely be.

At the  
king's re-  
quest they  
allow him  
to speak.

Ivar's  
defence.

21. After that Ivar stood up and spoke thus: "It  
 " is known to the old Birchshanks," said he, " that  
 " I came that spring to king Sverrir before the fight  
 " was at Strindsea, I had good cheer from the king  
 " while he lived, and I served him so that at last I  
 " knew almost all his secret matters; and though he  
 " had by him his councillors of the highest rank, still for  
 " all that I was not shut out; and he would not have  
 " done so if he had proved me to be in any thing a  
 " liar or a worthless man. Just the same did also his  
 " son king Hacon; and in the same way behaved  
 " king Guttorm. But since they took the kingdom,  
 " king Ingi and earl Hacon, then they acted in the  
 " same fashion; and that besides, which was much  
 " against my wish, they relied on me for writing  
 " letters; but I was always afraid of that, that my  
 " enemies might hit upon something from which risk  
 " might arise to me; for it was then as now, that  
 " there was no lack of envious men who would wish  
 " to trip me up; and that is why I will leave it to  
 " the witness of all men who are now here, that  
 " never was aught proved against me which tended  
 " to falsehood or guile against my lords. But I know  
 " well of myself what my part is; that this our  
 " young king is a child, and needs more than aught  
 " else safe counsellors and trusty men to be ever at his  
 " elbow, for those sit far too near to him who would  
 " draw away from him those who would be faithful

" and counsellors of good, and would play into the  
 " earl's hands and leave it to his own will to settle  
 " the king's business as best pleases them. Now for  
 " that this my fault is so great that I am worthy  
 " for it to be torn asunder quick, as thou saidst,  
 " Gregorius John's son, and thou, Paul flayer, because  
 " I bade the king to see his own letters which were  
 " sent to other lands with his seal; then there shall  
 " be no need of this any more, for I will sunder  
 " myself from the king's court and not spoil the  
 " harmony of them, the king and earl. May God  
 " grant those alone may be left who are trusty and  
 " good counsellors to both of them, and to that plan,  
 " that each have that honour to which he is entitled  
 " by birth." So ended that meeting that the king's  
 men were not glad, but his enemies happy.

A.D. 1217.  
Ivar's  
defence.

22. King Hacon came so to his kingdom that he got  
 no more of his father's inherirance in chattels than a  
 brooch and a finger-ring; but earl Skuli had come  
 into all that money that king Ingi had owned, and  
 which he had taken after both king Hacon and king  
 Sverrir. As it wore on to that day of meeting which  
 the Gula-Thing's men had fixed for the eve of the  
 Seljamen, the liegemen and captains and the best men  
 out of the land came first to Bergen out of all the  
 land where the Gula-Thing law ran. And one day  
 before the Thing the king and the earl and their  
 counsellors met. So the king's counsellors said they  
 would that the earl should swear the king oaths of  
 fealty according to old custom. But the earl said  
 that he would not do that before he knew what he  
 had to get in return for it, and claimed at once half  
 Norway and half of all the skatt-lands; but the king's  
 counsellors offered a third of Norway, but nothing of  
 the skatt-lands. Gregorius John's son and Paul flayer  
 answer on the earl's behalf that he should have at  
 least a third of the skatt-lands and Norway, else he

King  
Hacon's  
poverty  
and earl  
Skuli's  
claims.

A.D. 1217. would turn with his force thither where he thought he could get what he liked. Now the king's councillors saw that it was beyond his strength to stand against earl Skuli and Philip the Crozier-men's king, who then had the Bay and the Uplands with great force; and so that plan was taken on the king's behalf and on that of his councillors, that earl Skuli was granted a third of Norway and all the skatt-lands. With this that meeting ended.

Hacon  
chosen  
king at  
the Gula  
Thing.

23. The next day the horns were blown for the Thing out in Christchurch yard; the Thing was drawn up north of the church, and after that the shrine of St. Sunnifa was borne out and many other halidoms. Then Sigurd of Onarheim stood up on behalf of all the Gula-Thing's men and greeted the king and the earl, and went on about them with many fair words. And after that goodman Dagfinn spoke; and put that forward in his speech that though those in Drontheim had locked up the shrine of the saint king Olaf, still that was neither the counsel nor the will of the freemen. The men of Gula would willingly do all the honour they could to king Hacon, both clerks and laymen.

The special  
agreement  
between  
the king  
and earl.

24. After that stood up that man whose name was Steingrim the stroller, a ready man and a wise. He gave Hacon the title of king; and almost all thanked him for his work. After that the king swore to hold the law of the land; but the earl had before so shaped the oath as he liked; and the oath was thus, that the king should keep all the agreement with the earl that had been made between them; but the earl swore that he would hold the law to the land-folk; and it followed in his oath that he would be, and they would be, true to king Hacon so long as he kept that special agreement which had been spoken of between them. After that the liegemen stood up, Gregorius John's son, Paul flayer, Brynjolf



Canute's son, Arni Sturla, and other captains of the guard, and swore oaths to the king. After that the freemen swore, and so that Thing ended. A.D. 1217.

25. When king Hacon was chosen king there was great plenty in the land. That summer was so good that far and wide over the land the fruit trees bore two crops and the wild birds had two broods. So sung Olaf whiteskald :—

The men of Mæren jumped for joy,  
When one year, both tree and bird,  
Twice bore fruit and twice bred brood;  
The Prince's tree stood fair to see.

So sung Sturla in Hacon's lay :—

Tree in orchard in one summer  
Twice bore bloom which came to fruit;  
Bird in wood twice hatched her nestlings  
Unfrozen in the early spring.

When the Prince of glory greedy,  
Had ta'en up the name of "king,"  
And his fortune 'gan to grow,  
To honour born and pride of place;  
Each man knew the powers of nature  
Wished to greet his title royal,  
O'er the sea-girt orb of earth.

26. A little after the Thing men came from the east out of the Bay from Philip the Crozier-men's king, with letters to earl Skuli, and that was in them that king Philip claimed a half share of Norway against earl Skuli and the Birchshanks; but otherwise he would raise a band for war against them. The king was not spoken of in those letters; but this was spoken of, that more letters and messages had gone east. The earl gave that answer to those men, by the advice of the captains, that lord Philip should have that lot of the lands those twelve months which he had before; but they should meet in the summer, and then there should be a meeting of all the bishops and the wisest men in the land. And now the messengers fared back east with these letters.

Letters  
from  
Philip, the  
Crozier-  
men's king,  
and his  
claims.

A.D. 1217. 27. Sigurd the king's kinsman was set to watch in the Bay on behalf of the Birchshanks. He fared that summer to Jerusalem. But these captains of companies were left in the Bay of the Birchshanks: Lodin Paul's son, Hallward the sharp, Bard tough-stone, Karl the slim. They sat in great dread, for the Crozier-men threatened them every day with death and ill-treatment. But ere the messengers of the Crozier-men came east with the letters of the earl Philip the Crozier-men's king dies. The Birchshanks send for the king and earl. took a sickness at Tunsberg, and he was borne inland to Laufey. He lay a little while ere he breathed his last. But the Croziermen kept his death hidden as much as they could; but Lodin Paul's son became aware of it, and sent as speedily as he could a cutter north, and that man steered it whose name was Gunnar baneman. He was not longer on the way than three nights and days to Bergen. He had letters for the king and earl, which told of Philip's death, and that the Birchshanks who were in the Bay bade the king and earl to hasten east thither, because the Croziermen were looking about everywhere for a king-pretender. They sent men also to Denmark, and "are said to have heard that there " was a man there called Sigurd, a son of Erling " stonewall. Now if ye two come east quickly hither " then you will get the band of the Croziermen " broken up; but there will be more to do if ye come " later."

28. As soon as ever the king and earl had read the letters they made ready their journey as quickly as they could, and had about forty ships, and most of them all big. They had both of them one ship which was called "the Terrible," with twenty-five benches for rowers. They fared east after Mary's-mass the former, and got a good wind. The Crozier-men were all on the east side of the Firth when the Birchshanks came into the Bay. These were the captains

of companies of the Crozier-men : lord Andrew brother A.D. 1217.  
of king Philip, Rognvald Hallkel's son, sister's son  
of king Magnus, Arnbjorn John's son. There were  
many other good men with the Crozier-men. Bishop  
Nicholas had rowed as far north as Lua-sound, and  
some captains of companies with him ; but king Hacon  
and earl Skuli sailed east into the Bay. Then bishop  
Nicholas rowed to meet them, and they met within  
the isles by Hrossaness. Then peace was set between  
the Crozier-men and the Birchshanks. After that Peace  
made  
between  
the Birch-  
shanks and  
Crozier-  
men round  
the Bay.  
the Crozier-men came east across the firth, lord An-  
drew, Rognvald, Arnbjorn, and many others. They  
ran in with their ships at Gunnarsby, and so came  
to the town. Their meeting was in St. Mary's church  
in Tunsberg. There many things were spoken of  
between king Hacon and the earl ; and the Crozier-  
men were offered to become hand-bound to earl Skuli,  
and to have such honours as they had before. But  
the Crozier-men asked for that share of the land  
which they had before, and said they could hardly  
trust the Birchshanks, for the sake of their former  
troubles. But this was the end of the business be-  
tween them, that the Crozier-men should hold that  
winter half of all those employments which Philip  
had held before ; but both sides should send men  
north to the archbishop, and he should confirm that,  
and lay down terms of peace between them the next  
summer ; and on behalf of the Birchshanks Gregorius  
John's son and goodman Dagfinn got ready to that  
journey ; but on behalf of the Crozier-men Eindrid  
bookling, and Grundi the treasurer. King Hacon and earl  
Skuli filled the offices which belonged to them. After  
that the Hauga-Thing was summoned, and king Hacon Hacon is  
declared  
king at the  
local  
Things.  
was given the title of king. After that they, the king  
and the earl, appointed the most of their force to go  
back north ; but they fared east afterwards over the  
Fold, and held the Borgar-Thing ; and thence into

A.D. 1217. Vettar-hundred to Stofnar, and held a Thing there; and thence to Hornbora-Thing, and east to Elf-bakki. Hacon was then given the title of king at all these Things; and men turned out the whole force of the district with good will; and he had gifts over and above round the whole Bay. They sat a long time that autumn at the King's Crag.

King Hacon and earl Skuli fare north. 29. Lady Christine, whom Hacon the mad had had to wife, was given away<sup>1</sup> east in Gothland; Askell the law-man, the son of Magnus mindshield, the brother's son of earl Birgir the smiling got her to wife. There was reared up with them squire Canute son of earl Hacon and lady Christine. In the autumn, as they sat at the King's Crag, king Hacon and earl Skuli, they sent letters up into Gothland to the Lawman, that he should send squire Canute to them, and they said that they would do honourably by him; and a meeting was set between them; and the earl came on the day fixed, but not the Lawman, for that he hardly trusted the Birchshanks. After that they, the king and earl, fared north to Tunsberg, and thence north into the land.

Hroar and Erlend fare to Jerusalem. 30. That summer, when they were in the Bay, Hroar the king's kinsman fared out to Jerusalem; he had a big and gallant ship. Erlend Thorberg's son was the name of a man who fared with him; he steered another ship; that the townsmen had let make at their cost. That ship which Hroar owned came to Acre, but the townsmen's ship came to Damietta, and both of them made good business on their voyage.

The Birchshanks in the Bay are warned to beware of the Crozier-men. 31. Before king Hacon and earl Skuli fared from Tunsberg they summoned to them all those liegemen who were in the Bay. Many warnings were given them at the meeting that they should beware that

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<sup>1</sup> "That summer when they were in the Bay was lady Christine given away," Fr., Esp.



the Croziermen raised no strife; and also to look out A.D. 1217  
 well for themselves that no treachery was played -1218.  
 upon them. After that they sailed to Bergen, the The king  
 king and earl, and came to the town seven nights and earl  
 before Yule, and sat there Yule over and through the keep Yule  
 winter. About Yule they made two liegemen, John at Bergen.  
 Steel and Ivar nosy. Then most men thought it likely  
 that things would go well between the king and earl.

32. The Croziermen shared the stewardships among The Cro-  
 themselves which they had got in the Uplands and ziermen  
 in the Bay. Rognvald got the stewardship at Fold shared the  
 and about Oslo; but he had held before the steward- steward-  
 ship in Romarick. The men of Raumar called him ships in  
 rather hard in his stewardship; and he stood in need the Bay  
 of much, for he had a great company. But when the and the  
 men of Fold heard that they grumbled badly, and Uplands  
 said that he would not be good to them when he among  
 had been bad to the others. Rognvald fared out in them.  
 Howick, and summoned the men of Fold-Thing, Steward  
 as is the wont of the stewards. But when the sum- Rognvald  
 mons to the Thing came into the country, then the is slain  
 freemen turned it into a war-arrow, and called together by the  
 every man who could bear arms, and came to the Thing men of  
 armed to the teeth. Rognvald fared with few men to Fold.  
 the Thing. He bade the freemen set the Thing.  
 But as soon as he wished to say anything, the  
 freemen shouted against him, and bade him hold his  
 tongue; some drew their swords and made an on-  
 slaught on him. Then Rognvald wished to get away;  
 but the freemen followed after him and slew him,  
 and wounded some other men. But all his men made  
 away for the ships and fared off. The men of Fold  
 fared home. But the freemen brought Rognvald's  
 body to Oslo and bury it there.

33. In the summer, when king Hacon and earl  
 Skuli were in the Bay, then there was that priest  
 with Rognvald whose name was Benedict; he was

A.D. 1218. called "Benny," of a family from the east on the Marches. He let that word get about that he was the son of king Magnus Erling's son. But Rognvald had him with him, and set more store by him for his buffooneries than for his kindred. But when Rognvald had fallen, then "Benny" went east to the Marches and gathered a band there to him. So he changed his name, and gave it out that he was called Magnus after his father. Then much folk flocked to him. That man strengthened him most at first whose name was Harold the priest at Rakkasteads. Benny had been his hired priest. The folk that followed Benny was very poor; they were both little clad and little armed. They were called "Tattercoats." They ran about the Marches and wastes, but seldom came into the settled country. They were very bad in robberies and petty thefts. About winter those men Thorbjorn of Lumalands and Helgi his brother made up their minds to join company with those Tattercoats; they were both of good family and wealthy, and proper men in themselves. Then many of the freemen came into the band with them and many freemen's sons; they all thought that their leader Benny was the true son of king Magnus, as he said. Then they roamed far and wide over the tilled land with robbery and thefts and much other mischief. The Croziermen were in the Bay through the winter and watched the town. Their leaders were lord Andrew and Arnbjorn John's son and some more.

The Tattercoats come by ship to Tunsberg.

34. At Lent the Croziermen got news of that, that the Tattercoats had come on shipboard and meant to come to the town. The Croziermen busied themselves to guard the town. And a little after the Tattercoats held on with their ships from the east round the Fold to Tunsberg and ran in at Skeljastonesground, and landed at Gunnarsby. Here the Croziermen got news of them, and let their force be summoned by trumpets

up on the Hows in the evening with their arms. But when it grew dark much folk went down to Thomas church and slept there that night. Benny sent men to find Arnbjorn John's son; and said thus, that he could never expect that he would fight against a brother of king Erling stonewall, whom he had before served. Arnbjorn answers thus: "Benny says right in that, that it ill beseems me to fight against the brother of Erling; that I will not do if I learn of a truth that he is his brother. But I think Benni belongs to another pedigree. Ye shall say thus to the Tattercoats if they try to come hither to the town, that we Croziermen will come against you and keep up the battle against you." The messengers went back with this errand. Somewhat before day the Croziermen were ware that the Tattercoats were at Gunnarsby, and had near five hundred men. Then the Croziermen let the horns blow; and went up to the Hows, and had near three hundred men. They met at Gunnarsby; there was a hard fight, men fell on both sides, but most of the Tattercoats. Benny was on a horse and not in the fight. Arnbjorn got a wound, he was thrust in the neck below the ear. Lord Andrew was also wounded on the cheek. But when he got his wound he threw away his shield; he was the strongest of men; he took their shields in his left hand and pulled their shields away from them, and smote them with his right hand, each of them to death, with the sword called "Scar," the sharpest of all swords. Then Arnbjorn went hard on, and made for the banner of the Tattercoats. There fell Thorbjorn of Lumalands and his brother Helgi. There fell more than fourteen score men; but all the rest fled who were left of the Tattercoats. Benny got away with little glory. The bodies of Thorbjorn and Helgi were borne to the church; but the bodies of all the rest of their force were buried where they fell. After this

A.D. 1218.  
The Tatter-  
coats  
attack  
Tunsberg,  
and are  
defeated  
with great  
loss.

Thorbjorn  
and Helgi  
are slain,  
and Benny  
flies to the  
Marches.

A.D. 1218. defeat Benny turned back east to the Marches, and then gathered men to him for a new start. Lord Andrew and Arnbjorn wrote to king Hacon and earl Skuli; they begged them hasten to the Bay; they said that folk flocked day by day to Benny, and that he was much strengthened in his force.

Benny and the Tattercoats make a raid on Oslo, and rob and plunder in the Bay.

35. In the spring after Easter the Tattercoats came down from the land to Oslo. Ivar outwicked had then the stewardship of Oslo on behalf of the king and earl. Ivar and the Birchshanks and the townsmen and the bishop's men fared against the Tattercoats, and they met at Frysiá and shot at one another across the river. There fell master Stephen of the bishop's men, but few other men. Many were wounded, and the townsmen fled to the town. The Tattercoats ran into the town and spoiled it much. They took the longship which the bishop owned and some other ships, and so fared out down the firth, and so south into the Bay, and robbed wherever they came and could. But when they got south off the branches of the river Elf they ran into the east branch. Askill the lawman was in Ljodhouse; he had got some rumours of the voyage of the Tattercoats, and they robbed far and wide. He manned a cutter and rowed out of the river; he went to forbid their plundering; he knew he should not lack folk from the hundreds round if he stood in need of it. There was with him squire Canute. They lay by the land out in the river. They were told it was more than likely that some longships would come out down the stream. Then the lawman called on squire Canute to go on shore, and he ran away into the wood. A little after the cutters of the Tattercoats ran up against them; the lawman sprang on shore away up the country, but the Tattercoats took his ship there, and a good land-tent, and mass-belt, and many other things of price, and then went their way. But the lawman's men searched long

They surprise Askill the lawman at Ljodhouse.



for the lad Canute before they found him. But the A.D. 1218.  
Tattercoats fared out to sea, and so south to Hal-  
land, and behaved rather mischievously.

36. Those Birchshanks who were in the Bay The Birchshanks pursue them to Halland and take their ships.  
heard what the Tattercoats had undertaken. Then  
they went on shipboard and fared south to look for  
them. There were three captains of companies, Gut-  
torm Gunni's son, Halvard the climber, Lodin Paul's  
son, Lodin Gunni's son, Ivar outwick, Karl the slim.  
There were also Crozier-men: lord Andrew and  
Arnbjorn. And when they came into the Bay they  
heard that the Tattercoats had fared south to Halland;  
then they held on south after them and found them  
at the place called Bardafirth. The Tattercoats knew  
nothing about it till the ships ran round the headland,  
they made off straightway up the country and fled  
away; but the Birchshanks and Crozier-men took  
their ships, and all that was in them, but caught none  
of the men.

37. Lord Andrew was laid up sick a little later, Death of Lord Andrew.  
and that wound opened which he had got at Gun-  
narsby; then it began to swell and inflame. As soon  
as he felt that it was going hard with him, then he  
let a letter be written to earl Skuli, and there were  
in it the same friendly words which they had already  
uttered. He sent to the earl the sword "Scar" and  
a shield inlaid with gold. A little after lord Andrew  
died. His body was borne to Oslo and buried in  
Halvard's churchyard. His death was a great grief.

38. That winter when the Tattercoats were in the A.D. 1217 -1218.  
Bay, king Hacon sat in Bergen. This was the first  
winter of his reign. Before that in the summer came  
these tidings in Iceland; that Sæmund John's son of  
Oddi made strife against the Norwegians at the Eres.  
He came on them with some five hundred men, and took  
from them three hundred hundreds of woollen stuff.  
But he gave as a reason for this that his son Paul

A.D. 1217 had been lost the winter before off Stad. Then Aslak  
 -1218. Hauk's son was lost and some six or seven ships.  
 The Ice-landers and Norwegians quarrel. But Sæmund thought he had heard that the men of Bergen had done him some bad turns, and that was why he had fared north; but not at his own wish. Much strife made the dwellers at Oddi against the Northmen other than this.

A.D. 1218. 39. King Hacon and earl Skuli made ready to sail  
 The king and earl at at Nidaros. when the spring began north into Drontheim, and came to the town half a month before Easter. There was no ringing to meet them, and the archbishop would make no procession to meet the king; though they met, still the archbishop showed no kindness to the king. But the earl and the archbishop met every day, and then there was the greatest kindness. That day on which the earl was alone in Christ's church princely honour was shown him. On Palm Sunday they were both in Christ's church, the king and the earl, and sat in the high seat; but no honour was shown to the king nor to either of them. And when they were led to the altar to offer, then the archbishop would not turn towards the king nor take his offering. The king laid the offering on the altar and went behind the choir to his seat. After that the Birchshanks were more open-mouthed than before, that they thought their dishonour great of all kinds. A little after they held a meeting in the archbishop's court-yard, and the king asked the archbishop what fault he found with him that he would not show him kingly honour. The archbishop answers thus: "This is not my counsel alone; all we bishops are of this mind, and some of those who are inside your court with you; and we have this ground for it, that we have heard it said outright in some way whether thou art the son of king Hacon or not." "That," answers the king, "is not to be laid at the door of all the bishops, and to few men within my

“ court. It has come of those men who will lower A.D. 1218.  
 “ me, and draw themselves into the inheritance of my A meeting  
 “ fathers.” “ As soon,” answers the archbishop, “ as fixed at  
 “ we are as thoroughly sure of that as we are now Bergen.  
 “ in doubt about it, then we will show you all the The arch-  
 “ honour we can.” The earl held his peace and took bishop’s  
 part with neither side. But this meeting ended so that message to  
 afterwards in the summer king Hacon and earl Skuli Dagfinn.  
 and the archbishop and all the suffragan bishops and  
 liegemen and lawmen and all the flower of the land  
 should come to Bergen, and then this question should  
 be settled as it seemed best. Goodman Dagfinn was  
 then next the king in all counsel. The archbishop  
 sent word by stealth to goodman Dagfinn after the  
 meeting and said thus to him: “ God knows this, that  
 “ I would willingly be the king’s friend, and some of  
 “ the things would not be spoken of as they now  
 “ are if I had my way. But for all that you should  
 “ counsel the king to take this in good part, and  
 “ bear it with long-suffering for God’s sake, for my  
 “ mind tells me that this shall be most to his honour  
 “ and to the disgrace of those who think that they  
 “ shall lower him by this.”

40. King Hacon and earl Skuli stayed the spring The king  
 through in Drontheim. But when it began to be and earl go  
 summer they busked them from the north, and fared to Bergen.  
 to Bergen, as was meant. But when they came to The  
 the town there were many divisions among them, liegemen  
 and then the Birchshanks split up much into parties. split into  
 But when the liegmen came, then there were most factions.  
 of them who turned either this way or that, to the  
 king or to the earl. But it was so then as before,  
 that he had most folk who had most fee. The king’s The Birch-  
 men guarded him with the greatest wariness, so that shanks  
 they fared out into the king’s courtyard to sleep with guard the  
 their bands. Andrew shieldband and Vegard of Vera- king.  
 dale let twelve men, armed to the teeth, follow the

A.D. 1218. king every day, over and above those who kept the guard. As the summer wore on, all the bishops came to the town. Archbishop Guttorm came last. Then came Nicholas bishop of Oslo, Henry bishop of Stavanger, Ivar bishop of Hammar, Bjarni bishop of the Orkneys, and many other learned clerks and lawmen, and the best freemen who had been called thither. The king and the bishops were seldom in talk together, but the earl and the bishops often.

The arch-  
bishop and  
the earl  
ask the  
king to  
put his  
birth to  
the trial by  
ordeal

41. One day, when the king was talking with his liegemen and councillors, there came messengers from the archbishop and the earl. They were these Havard bishop of Bergen and master John of Drontheim. The bishop brought forward their errand with these words: "Lord," he said, "the archbishop and the earl begged this of you, that that ordeal of iron which was offered on your behalf that spring when you were chosen to the kingdom, may now come about; so that the stories of those may be set at naught who of yore have any doubt of your fatherhood. Now if you will have it so done, and God bears you good witness in this matter, then they will honour you as their true lord, and show you all kingly honour." Then the liegemen and councillors spoke in various ways about that. The king

The king's  
answer.

answers: "I know not nevertheless whether it is worth buying this honour of yours, at the price of undergoing such hard terms." But that end came out of it that next morning they should meet in the vestry, the king and archbishop and earl and the suffragan bishops. And when they met the archbishop spoke the same words as were already told. After that goodman Dagfinn spoke thus: "Precedents could hardly be found that the sons of yeomen and cot-  
ters should make such hard terms without war to an absolute king and the son of a king, as to



“ force him to the ordeal, after he has been made king A.D. 1218.  
 “ over the whole land, and all men have sworn oaths Dagfinn's  
 “ to him; and I ween we shall think it little worse speech.  
 “ to bear no iron but what is cold steel where his  
 “ foes are, and let all-ruling God settle the quarrel  
 “ between him and his enemies as he settled it between  
 “ king Sverrir and those men who withstood him.”

42. After that the king answers himself with these King  
 words: “ It is surely true, goodman Dagfinn, that this Hacon's  
 “ would seem very hard terms to many a king to speech.  
 “ take the ordeal now on his own behalf after his  
 “ rule is steadfast. But when I and my mother  
 “ offered that on my behalf—I was then not fast chosen He agrees  
 “ to be king—then it was utterly scouted, and yet to the  
 “ they were the same who did that and now do this. ordeal,  
 “ It is known also to all men who were with king Ingi and puts  
 “ when I and my mother came the first time north to his trust  
 “ Drontheim to king Ingi, and so also when she met on God.  
 “ earl Hacon; that she offered on her behalf that the  
 “ very same ordeal should come about if there were any  
 “ mistrust of my story. But they would in no wise  
 “ hear of it. And earl Hacon said so, that he knew all  
 “ about it and there was no need of any ordeal. Often  
 “ he said that in the hearing of many men since, that  
 “ he, and both those brothers, kept me out of my inheri-  
 “ tance. Now for all that we will not look on these  
 “ terms as too hard; for I will willingly let this  
 “ ordeal of iron take place in honour of my subjects.  
 “ That other thing also leads me to it, that many  
 “ men may think that the reason why we draw  
 “ away from it is that we ourselves have some doubt  
 “ as to our fatherhood. But this is the third thing  
 “ that brings me most to it, that I am steadfast as  
 “ to that judge into whose hands this matter is put,  
 “ that he never failed any man in furthering his  
 “ rights; for he is afraid of no man in uttering the  
 “ truth. And that is why I go so gladly to his

A.D. 1218. "righteous judgment." And all bore witness who were by that this was well spoken.

Inga the  
king's  
mother,  
fasts for  
the ordeal.

43. After this meeting the king's mother went to church to fast for the ordeal of iron. These men fasted with her; Sigurd the king's kinsman, goodman Dagfinn, Andrew shieldband, and some more, both clerks and laymen. But twelve men were got to watch outside the church, both nights and days, that no one came near to mar the trial. The earl was much kinder to the king than before these days, but no man knew what was the reason of that.

Sigar's  
treachery.

44. There was a man with the earl whose name was Sigar; he was born in Brabant, and was a good smith and skilled in many things and wise in counsel. Sigar gave himself out a great friend of the king. He went one morning to goodman Dagfinn and called him to talk alone. It was on the Wednesday before the iron was to be borne. He spoke thus: "I know  
" that ye are very heartsick as to your trial; but  
" because I will do the king a good turn, then I  
" will put in play a trick which shall not fail. I  
" have that kind of herb if I rub it over the hand of  
" the king's mother it will do her no harm and she  
" shall be able to bear this iron with steadfast heart  
" and will become clear." "God thank thee," answers

Dagfinn  
discovers  
it and  
sends him  
about his  
business.

Dagfinn, "for thy true goodwill, thou art wise and  
" discerning; tell me where that herb grows which  
" has so much might in it." "It grows," answers  
Sigur, "on thy house and every other man's  
" house here in Bergen." "No leaf nor leechcraft,"  
answers Dagfinn, "will we have in this matter  
" save those alone which Jesus Christ will make  
" with his mercy and with the intercession of the  
" Holy Virgin Mary and the saint king Olaf and  
" the saint Sunnifa and all God's saints. But be  
" off thou with thy swaggering, and know that of a  
" truth that thou shalt fall into some bad way, if

“ thou speakest any more of this.” After that Dagfinn A.D. 1218. went to the king’s mother and those men who were nearest to her and said to her secretly, “If Sigar comes hither or any other man to offer you any drugs or other trash, then beware of him as your worst adversary; for I know of a surety that falsehood and guile and open treachery is under that speech.”

45. On the next day after prime the king’s mother bore the iron according to the right time. And it went off in the best way on her part. There were by the king and the archbishop, the earl and other nobles of the land. There too was John earl of the Orkneys. But on that day when the hand was to be unbound it was told the king that the earl’s friends had some talk of bearing their arms secretly that day. And for that the king bade John steel, Guttorm Gunni’s son, Vegard of Veradale, Bard toughstone, that they would let all their bands be armed, and send word to the guests to arm themselves and be out by Christ church while the hand was being unbound. That day at the right time there came the king and archbishop, the earl and all bishops and chiefs with the other folk out to Christ church. And as the hand of the king’s mother was unbound, then God showed great tokens out of his mercy, so that she was well clear, and all said that who saw it that the hand was then far fairer than it was before she took hold of the iron. Both friends and foes confirmed that.

46. After that, as a new start, an atonement was made between those two, king Hacon and earl Skuli, and a Thing was held in Christ church-yard the Sunday after. There were all the captains. Then the archbishop gave out the clearing of the king’s mother and laid his ban on every man if he put any mistrust about it. Then too he gave out the renewed

The king’s mother comes well out of the ordeal.

The king and earl set at one, and the archbishop accepts the ordeal, and lays his ban on any man that gainsaid it.

A.D. 1218. agreement between the king and the earl. After that  
 The king and earl fare to the Bay against the Tattercoats.  
 Thing the king and the earl made ready to set out east to the Bay with a great force; for then came letters to them from the east, both from the Croziermen and Birchskanks, that Benny and the Tattercoats were much strengthened, and gathered together many runagates and made great strife. They got a fair breeze east. When they came to Tunsberg they were told that Benny and the Tattercoats were in Oslo, but no news went before him of the king. Then they wished to sail at once in to Oslo, for the wind was good. Then the horns were blown for all the force to go away, and some ships ran out. Jofrey was the name of the provost who was then in Tunsberg. He went at once to the king and earl, and had with him a boy who said he was very weary. He said bishop Nicholas had sent him out to Tunsberg to the provost and townsmen to make them aware that the Tattercoats were coming out to the town; the boy said he had parted from them as they went out of Oslo. Some of the Birchshanks said this must be all a trick of bishop Nicholas, to stay their voyage so. But the sheriff and townsmen begged the king not to fare out of the town. And they stayed there that day. And men were sent riding up the country on horses. And they met men who had come straight from the town, who said this was all humbug and false rumour of the bishop.

Treachery of bishop Nicholas.  
 The king attacks the Tattercoats in Oslo.  
 47. Ivar outwick and Asbjorn top lay then by Hofudisle; they held the stewardship of Oslo from the king. They had sent out a light cutter to know about the journey of the king and the earl. But when they found the king they said that the Tattercoats were in Oslo, and had heard no news of the king's doings. They hastened their voyage as much as possible, but the wind was as fair as could be. And when they came to Hofudisle, then Ivar out-



wick came to them and his companions in three ships, and said that the Tattercoats were still in Oslo, and kept as quiet as possible. After that the sails on the king's ships were reefed; and it was told the other ships that all were to sail in a line and so run up to the town. After that they sailed as fast as they could. But those ships that were slower sailers did both, sailed and rowed. The Tattercoats kept watch upon the steeple of Halvard's church, and they saw the ships as soon as they sailed out of the Bay round the point of the ness. Then Benny hastened as fast as he could out of the town. But when the Birchshanks came in round Hofudisle then they saw plainly that some of the Tattercoats were faring up the firth on their way. Then their ships were run up to the wharves as fast as they could both north and south, and men ran up into the town, but then all the Tattercoats were out of the town. Some companies of the Birchshanks followed them up as far north as Frysjo, but they caught none of them for that time.

48. Many Croziermen sat in the bishop's castle, and guarded themselves; but they were neither for nor against the Tattercoats; for they had then not yet come to terms with the Birchshanks. But as soon as king Hacon came alongside the castle then they came down and offered him their service. Bishop Nicholas was in the town; he sent off a boat to the king's ship, and let Inga the king's mother come to his house, and treated her worthily. Towards the Birchshanks he was most kind. But the morning after he made a procession to meet the king with all honour. After that letters were sent to Arnbjorn John's son and all the Croziermen. Then they came to Oslo and became handbound to king Hacon and earl Skuli, and gave up the name of the band with which they had gone about. But these then were the captains of bands

A.D. 1218.  
The Tattercoats fly from Oslo.

Other bands of Croziermen join the king and earl.

Bishop Nicholas behaves well. Arnbjorn John's son and most of the Croziermen become "hand-bound" to the king and earl.

A.D. 1218. of the Croziermen who came into the king's hand—Arnbjorn John's son, Gunnbjorn John's brother, Simon Kine, Eystein Hroar's son, Gudolf of Blakkasteads, Einridi bookling, Finn Kalf's son, Botolf Æfa's son, Finn Bergthor's son, Gudleik codling, Sigurd thicklips, Gunnar Asa's son, Eilif comber, and Thorir Amundi's son.

The king attacks the Tattercoats on the lakes, and they fly to the Marches.

49. Now king Hacon heard that the Tattercoats were up on the Eyjawater. Then the king made them drag fourteen ships up into the lake, and sent to do this a large force, and these captains of bands; Guttorm Gunni's son, Olaf drowsy, Gunnbjorn, Harold stakefoal, and some others still. The Tattercoats got word of their doings, and fled at once up into the Marches. But the Birchshanks manned their ships as soon as ever they came to the lake, but some turned back to the king in Oslo. Then there were great drinking-bouts in the town, and many tidings happened.

Brawls between the king's and earl's men.

50. King Hacon had a mother's brother whose name was Gunnolf; he was not a wise man at his drink. He met one even a good man whose name was sira Eilif, a courteous man and well-behaved; he was the greatest of all the earl's friends and his councillor. Gunnolf drew his sword and smote at Eilif, and all but cut off his right arm. That was soon told to the earl; but they both had one ship between them, the king and earl. The earl called on his men at once and bade them arm; but Gunnolf came amidships to the bodyguard and they threw a fence of shields round him and guarded him. The ship lay by the king's gangway, and many ships round about her. And soon as ever they heard the crash on board the king's ship they took to their arms. The earl was for going hard at Gunnolf, but the bodyguard guarded him. And when he saw he could not get at him for that, then he turned back to the bow with his men. When the bodyguard saw that he came so hotly thither armed to the teeth, then they were in dread lest he should

wish to do the king a mischief, and they all sprang A.D. 1218.  
 up and aft to the king. But the earl then turned off  
 along the stern-gangway and those men who followed  
 him. But there lay next the ships of those two Olaf  
 the earl's kinsman and Thord draffle and Thorfinn the  
 bad. The ship of some more men lay there close to  
 them who were all well-wishers of the earl. And  
 when they came to the earl on the wharf, then  
 he asked them what was best to be done. He said  
 he would revenge Eilif. There was a man called Rei-  
 dulf Bard's brother. He helped Ingi when he swam  
 across the river Nid, when the battle was in Dront-  
 heim. He was no friend of the king. He said to the  
 earl, "More of us will fare alike, and next of all you,  
 " lord; and the best thing to be done is that we  
 " take time by the forelock, and draw the ship ashore  
 " under them and slay the king and all who stand up  
 " for him." Olaf the earl's kinsman answers, "Then The king  
 " there will be too much revenge taken for one arm." and the  
earl fall  
out.  
 Many answer that for no sake would they betray the  
 king, "For that he is surely guiltless in this matter."

51. But when this was happening there they came  
 up on to the wharf Dagfinn the goodman and Gut-  
 torm Gunni's son, Vegard of Veradale, and Andrew  
 shieldband, with their bands very full of men, and  
 they turned at once to the king's ship. When the  
 earl saw that he turned against Vegard and thrust  
 at him with his sword; that thrust came on his  
 cheek. Vegard parried it, and it grazed the cheek  
 and passed on. After that the earl went off the  
 wharf, and thither where Eilif lay, and was there  
 awhile. Now Arnbjorn John's son, Lodin Paul's son,  
 and the best part of his men knew this; and now  
 they take to their arms, for they all had their shields  
 on the rails, for the sake of the strife (with the Tatter-  
 coats). They sent men in boats to the king, and all  
 said they would follow him. Goodman Dagfinn and  
 Guttorm with their fellows went out on shipboard to

A D. 1218. the king, but left their bands alone with arms. Then the earl came out on to the ship very wrath. The king stood up to meet him, and offered an atonement for his kinsman Gunnolf, both to the earl and also to Eilif. The earl muttered a little to that. Then said goodman Dagfinn, "If you, lord earl, will not let there be peace this night in this quarrel to all men, then ye two shall not be both aboard this ship, the king and you, and the king shall follow us." The king answers at once, "For no sake will I fly my ship to-night nor my followers." Then the body-guard said they would be there where the king was. Then the earl answers with soft words; and said that everything should be in peace till the morrow. But both sides kept watch and ward as strongly as they could that night.

Vegard  
of Vera-  
dale gets  
an atone-  
ment for  
the injury  
he had  
suffered.

52. The morning after when the fore-mass was sung, the king went to Eilif and made him an offer on behalf of Gunnolf. Eiliff answers well, and granted peace until men might see what turn his quarrel would take. Then the king made them blow the horns to a meeting of the body-guard, and then told goodman Dagfinn what had happened. Men spoke very variously about it. Vegard of Veradale stood up then, and laid bare to the body-guard what a disgrace he had got for no fault. Then too he followed up his words by saying that he would stir this quarrel against no man if some honour were offered him for it. The liegemen and guardsmen said that they would not for any price let the matter rest so. So it came about then that the earl left it to the judgment of good men and true. Vegard was awarded both fee and oaths after that on the book, but Vegard gave up both fee and oaths. But for all that the earl was ill pleased with his lot, and laid great enmity on Vegard, as will afterwards be told.



53. King Hacon and earl Skuli filled all the stewardships in the Uplands. But for that there was great cause to look for strife, then they were very careful in choosing their men. They were set over Hadaland, Gunnbjorn John's brother and Thorgeir bishop's-man; but over Romarick Harold stakefoal and Thoralli Ögur's son; over Heidmark Olaf drowsy and Frederick slobberer; but in Gudbrandsdale Endrid bookling and Bard tail. King Hacon and earl Skuli fared to Tunsberg, but sent men to Bergen to say that they meant to sit at Tunsberg the winter over. The king put goodman Dagfinn there to make ready the Yule feast on his behalf; but the earl for his part put Grundi the treasurer. But they fared into the Bay east to the Elf river and ransacked there into old and new matters as to the kingdom. After that they fared north to Tunsberg, and sat there over Yule. That same autumn Gautr John's son was driven back by stress of weather from his Jewry-faring. The king treated him well and gave him half the Elf stewardship, and he was with the king that winter.

54. This was the second winter of king Hacon's reign. Then he made Guttorm Gunni's son and Paul barrowpole liegemen. Gregorius John's son was that winter over the Drontheim district on the king's behalf. He wrote to the king and earl in the winter after Yule and told them that the town at Nidaros had been burnt down. These were then the king's councillors, Martin king's kinsman, Gunni Lodin's son, Guttorm his son, goodman Dagfinn and Bard toughstone. The king was then fifteen winters old. These councillors of the king sent word to Arnbjorn John's son and his brother Gunnbjorn [and to Paul barrowpole]. They spoke in this wise: "We think the king's affairs are very risky as things stand, for the earl has the wardships both of the realm and of the king himself, and they are many who are worse go-betweens

A.D. 1218  
-1219.

The king  
and earl  
keep Yule  
at Tuns-  
berg.

They fill  
all the  
steward-  
ships in  
the Up-  
lands.

A.D. 1219.

The king's  
councillors  
are uneasy  
on his  
behalf,  
and pro-  
pose

A.D. 1219. "there than should be; and sometimes they are not  
 that he "by who are steadfast to the king; and for this we  
 should "would be very willing so to strengthen their friend-  
 betroth "ship that they need harbour no mistrust about it."  
 himself to earl Skuli's They said that the best means toward this would be  
 earl Skuli's daughter Margaret. that the king asked for the hand of lady Margaret the  
 The king earl's daughter; they said that then everything would  
 and earl be on a firm footing, and then the earl would love  
 consent. the king as though he were his own son. They spoke  
 of this to the king, and he did not seem to like it  
 much at first; but he said he would do it, if then  
 everything was fair and above-board in all things. "But  
 "I am afraid," he said, "of this that it will all come  
 "to the same thing; still that likes me well which  
 "ye will provide for me." After that they went to  
 the earl and raised this matter to him. The earl took  
 this well, but still laid the matter in her mother's hands  
 and in her own and in others of her kinsfolk. But  
 the end of it was that the king betrothed the lady  
 Margaret to himself. Then both their friends and others  
 as well said that there could never be any parting in  
 their friendship, if these ties were taken.

Snorri 55. In the autumn before came from abroad from  
 Sturla's Iceland Snorri Sturla's son. Then came from abroad  
 son comes Sörli and Grimar with that big bark which they had  
 to Norway. had out to the Westman Isles, and told those tidings  
 that they had taken out of life a noble man, Worm  
 John's son, brother of Sæmund in Oddi, and John his  
 son, and Skeggi the priest; and most because of that  
 wrong which Sæmund had done to the Eastmen. But  
 yet Worm had no hand in it, for he had always tried  
 to mend matters between them.

King 56. King Hacon and earl Skuli went in the spring  
 Hacon out of Tunsberg to Bergen and sat there during the  
 and earl summer. Then came John steel to Bergen with that  
 Skuli in ship which he had let be made for the king, with  
 Bergen. twenty-five benches for rowers. That ship the king

had long afterwards, of all ships the best. About Mary s-  
 mass-tide the king and the earl fared north into the  
 land, and had many men and good men with them out  
 of Gula-Things-law. But on Michaelmas day was lady  
 Margaret betrothed<sup>1</sup> to the king, and there was an  
 honourable feast in the hall. They sat that winter in  
 Drontheim, the king and earl, and all things went well  
 and to their liking with them. This was the third  
 winter of the reign of king Hacon. Then a stewardship  
 in the northernmost Thing district was handed over to  
 Vegard of Veradale and Andrew shieldband. This  
 stewardship was given them because they were the most  
 special friends of the king.

A.D. 1219.  
 At Michaelmas  
 king Hacon  
 betrothed  
 to lady  
 Margaret.  
 The king  
 and earl  
 keep  
 Yule at  
 Nidaros.

57. After that the Croziermen had come to terms with  
 king Hacon, as was afore written, no stewardship was  
 bestowed on Gudolf of Blakkasteads, because he was  
 of ill-repute among the freemen when he held a  
 stewardship. And when Gudolf saw that he got no  
 honour from the Birchshanks, then it misliked him,  
 and he sat quiet a while. But that winter of which  
 we now spoke, and while they sat in Drontheim,  
 king Hacon and earl Skuli, Gudolf sent his son Eilif  
 crown south to Halland, and with him Eric scrap and  
 John the talker the third, to look up the lad who was  
 called Sigurd; he was called a son of Erling stone-  
 wall. They found him and took to him with honour,  
 and straitway folk flocked to him. Gudolf was his head  
 councillor, but Erling roomstaff was his standard bearer.  
 But these captains of bands came first to them: Son-  
 dulf Hauk's son, Thorleif bride, Erling ring, Helgi of  
 Solbjorg, Gauti good-butter, Gassi under the fell, and  
 Grimar the slim. They had many and picked men, and  
 were called "Ribbalds." Sigurd was then seventeen  
 winters old.

Gudolf of  
 Blakka-  
 steads  
 seeks  
 Sigurd and  
 sets him up  
 as king  
 of a new  
 band, "the  
 Ribbalds."

<sup>1</sup> Instead of this H. has a better  
 reading: But on Michaelmas day  
 king Hacon held his betrothal all  
 honourably in the hall of Nidaros.

That autumn they, the king and the  
 earl, swore to hold the laws and do  
 justice on Olaf's shrine at the Eyra-  
 Thing in Chipping.

A.D. 1219.

The Rib-  
balds gain  
force.

58. Sometime before they had become sworn brothers, Ivar outwicked and Gudolf of Blakkasteads, and were good partners together. Ivar had the western lot of Oslo stewardship; and sate in the stewardship and looked for nothing but good. Gudolf gathered men by stealth and attacked Ivar at Hofud-isle by night, and came on him unawares and drove Ivar from his ship. There fell many bold men and old Birchshanks, Smith slip and Halvard courteous. Ivar got away in a boat, but his followers got into churches. Gudolf took the ship and all their arms and much other spoil.

A.D. 1220.

King Ha-  
con and  
earl Skuli  
in Dront-  
heim and  
Bergen.Earl Skuli  
wishes to  
harry  
Iceland.

59. That winter they sat in Drontheim, as before was written, king Hacon and earl Skuli. But when spring came they fared south to Bergen and sat there long in the summer. Then the earl spoke in this wise, that he would send a host to Iceland. Then Bjorn, the son of Thorvald Gizur's son, had dragged a man of Norway out of the church at Midfirth and let him be slain. He was thought to have done that in revenge for Worm John's son; for he had his daughter Hallveig to wife. The earl meant to have many ships on the voyage. But men were very unwilling to the voyage. Then Gudmund Odd's son the skald chanted this stave:—

O! thou battle-waging king!  
Whither shall I turn this summer?  
Where bear nets that catch the spear?  
Where make war by land or sea?  
Only this I ask the swayer  
Of swords, this only I implore:  
My native land I may not harry,  
The earl now makes the wound-swan merry.

Snorri Sturla's son and those men of Iceland who were there bade goodman Dagfinn to do his best with the king that this undertaking should fall to the ground. So it came about that a meeting was fixed and the king spoke at the meeting and began thus: "Lord earl," he says, "this proposal which has been made this summer



“ seems to good counsel not wise, that a host should be  
 “ sent to Iceland, for that voyage seems difficult if the  
 “ land is to be harried. But that land has been settled  
 “ hence, and our kingdom and forefathers have christened  
 “ that land and granted to the men of that land many  
 “ easements. There too most of the men are guiltless  
 “ towards us, though some of them have done ill to our  
 “ thanes. But it will be to the scathe of all if war is  
 “ made on the land. Now I will beg of you, lord, that  
 “ you will let these schemes drop for the sake of this  
 “ pleading (of mine).” As soon as the king had spoken  
 that then many pleaded with him. Then the earl gave  
 up that design. That plan was taken that Snorri  
 Sturla’s son was sent out to make peace for the Eastmen.  
 King Hacon gave him the title of a liegeman. The earl  
 and he talked much in this matter of the Icelanders. It  
 was at first spoken of by the earl that Snorri should  
 bring the land under the king. But in the autumn  
 when Snorri came out the Southlanders (in Iceland) were  
 at variance among themselves. And in the summer after  
 Lopt in Skard slew Bjorn Thorvald’s son of Breidabol-  
 stead. That summer Snorri sent from abroad his son  
 John to the earl, as was agreed between them. But  
 Snorri did nothing in his errand with the men of the  
 land, nor did he try hard. But for that time chapmen  
 had good peace in Iceland.

A.D. 1220.  
 King Ha-  
 con speaks  
 against it  
 and the  
 earl gives  
 way.

Snorri  
 Sturla’s  
 son is sent  
 out to  
 Iceland to  
 bring the  
 island  
 under the  
 king, but  
 does little  
 or nothing.

60. During the summer while they sat in Bergen, The king  
 king Hacon and earl Skuli, came letters from the east and earl  
 out of the Bay from the liegemen that the king and sail to the  
 earl should hasten thither east; because the “Ribbalds” Bay.  
 were growing very strong. They busked them quickly  
 and were boun at Michaelmas. They had thirty ships.  
 These liegemen were there: Paul barrowpole, John  
 steel, Ivar nosy. They had a hard but fair breeze  
 off Jadar. After that they lay half a month in Lykr.  
 Then their drink and meat too were almost gone.  
 Then cattle were slaughtered from the farms of many

A.D. 1220.

The fleet  
are wind-  
bound at  
Lykr, and  
the king  
returns to  
Bergen  
with the  
big ships  
and makes  
ready for  
the Yule  
feast.

men in the neighbourhood. Then there was bad grumbling in the host; their long stay was loathsome to many. Then it was decided to divide the force. The king turned north to Bergen with the big ships; but the earl fared to east into the Bay with the smaller ships, but he had more men. It was so settled between them that the earl should get in the land dues and food-levies all round the Bay and bring them north to Bergen for the Yule feast and the pay of the men. When king Hacon came north into Eikund-sound he met bishop Henry of Stavanger, and they spoke of many things by themselves and made their friendship fast. Bishop Henry was afterwards a sure and steadfast friend of the king. He spoke thus at their parting: "I would that you should know, lord, " that you never had a worse enemy for a little man " against you than me; but henceforth you shall " have no trustier friend among us bishops than me, " though that is not worth much." The king got a fair wind after that to Bergen. He had a little money with him on the ships that he might keep himself with, but for all of them there was nothing. Then the king called to him goodman Dagfinn and he took to the treasury to make ready for the Yule-feast. Then great loans were taken both for the table and for Yule-stores. Then too letters to call in money were sent to all the stewards; and that was to little use, for the stewards stood in small fear of the king; and every time he spoke to them they answered at once that they had to take pains for something else.

Earl Skuli  
returns at  
Yule with  
the king's  
levies and  
dues from  
the Bay.

61. Now it must be told of earl Skuli that he was rather long in getting a fair wind into the Bay. And when he got there he called out the levies and the king's dues round all the Bay. He took all he could get, and turned north afterwards five nights before Yule from Tunsberg. He got a fair wind and came the fourth even of Yule to Bergen. He sent men on

before to the king, and the king sent men to him and offered him all he could. They both sat together through Yule, and all fared as kindly as could be with them. This was the fourth winter of the reign of King Hacon. But when the winter began to go these words came from the Bay that the Ribbalds were growing very strong and did much mischief. There were then come Benny and the Tattercoats to join the Ribbalds. Benny was a captain of a band in the host; but Sigurd would not show him any more honour.

A.D. 1221.

The Ribbalds and Tattercoats join together.

62. When it began to be spring king Hacon and earl Skuli took that counsel that the earl should go north to Drontheim and gather force thence and fare to the Bay by the upper road to the Bay to meet the Ribbalds; but the king should fare east with the ship-men, and they were to meet there (in the Bay). As soon as the earl got to Drontheim he summoned to him the liegemen, Gregorius John's son, Paul barrow-pole, and Peter Paul's son. After that they fared up into the country, as was intended. The earl had many and picked men. Then he fared the shortest way till he came south to Hammar in Heidmark. There came to meet him all the stewards of the Birchshanks who were in the Uplands; and they brought news from the east out of the Bay that the Ribbalds were there and were growing very strong. Sigurd had been a little before in Oslo and taken thence two ships which the bishop owned. And from all sides they drew ships to them, and meant to fare to Tunsberg against Arnbjorn John's son and those liegemen who were then there. Arnbjorn and his men were guarding themselves on the Berg. When the earl heard these tidings he hastened his journey from Hammar and all the liegemen with him, and first of all he came to Oslo.

The king and earl go by land and sea to meet the Ribbalds.

The earl comes to Oslo.

A.D. 1221.

King Hacon comes to Grindholm-sound and lies in wait for the Ribbalds.

63. Now it must be told of king Hacon that he fared in the summer east to the Bay, as had been before planned. The king had a great force. There were Gautr John's son, John steel, and goodman Dagfinn. And nothing is told of his voyage before he came east and sailed in along the Bay and ran into Grindholm-sound. Then there were these tidings in the Bay that the Ribbalds lay east of the firth at Varna, and had many ships and much folk. But Arnbjorn John's son and those liegemen who were in Tunsberg had gathered folk to them and ships, and meant to attack them, and were all ready to put out. But when they got to Skelja-stones-ground a ship of burthen sailed to meet them. Arnbjorn rowed off to meet her in a boat and asked for news. They say that king Hacon had come from the north and lay in Grindholm-sound with many ships. Arnbjorn was very glad at that, and turned with his force in round Smjorberg to the king and told him tidings of the doings of the Ribbalds.

The Ribbalds fall into the trap.

64. King Hacon when he heard of the Ribbalds let the horns sound. The awnings were taken off the ships; and they rowed at once south down the sound. And then they, Gautr and goodman Dagfinn, wished to let the force row on the firth south at once in the night; but Arnbjorn and the Bay-dwellers said that then the day would be far spent, and said it was better counsel to put out about daybreak into the firth. Then they rowed in to Jarlisle, and lay there that night. But early in the night came a cutter from the east across the firth, and in it the followers of Halvard steep; and said that the Ribbalds had chased them; "and," they said, "they were rowing then from the east to Rugisle when we parted; they meant to come hither to attack the liegemen; for they have heard that the liegemen have few and small ships, but they have more than fifty ships; and we think



" it likely that they will row hither on the firth to- A.D. 1221.  
 " night; but they do not know that the king has  
 " come from the north." Then the crews were called  
 up on land from the ships. Goodman Dagfinn spoke  
 to the host, and told them the king's purpose, that  
 men should lie without awnings that night and with <sup>King Ha-</sup>  
 all their wargear. " For we think it likely that the <sup>con's plan</sup>  
 " Ribbalds will come here to-night with all their host." <sup>to draw</sup>  
<sup>them on.</sup>

65. Lodin Gunni's son fared a-spying in the night  
 with three cutters. Men woke shortly before day, for  
 it was rather cold, and busked them at once.  
 Then Lodin came back when it began to grow light,  
 and had taken a cutter of the Ribbalds and brought  
 her to the king. They told many things of the pur-  
 pose of the Ribbalds, and that they had heard that earl  
 Skuli had come down the land with a great host, and was  
 then in Oslo. " And that is why they do not dare to  
 " hold on thither. They have also heard that the  
 " liegemen are in Tunsberg with small-ships, and  
 " they mean to fare first thither to them. But if  
 " they beat them they mean to fare against the  
 " earl."

66. The king called his councillors to him. And it  
 was settled that the small-ships should fare first and  
 the longships after them, and the masts should stand  
 up in them. Then the Ribbalds would think they were  
 all ships of burthen or small. And so it was done.  
 Then men rowed on to the firth as hard as they could.  
 And when they had come a little south of the isles,  
 they saw that the Ribbalds were rowing from the  
 south and steered as straight as they could against  
 them. Then the Birchshanks thought that they must  
 come to close quarters. The weather was calm and  
 there was bright sunshine. On the big ships two  
 pulled one oar, and the cutters got away from them  
 very little. The king's ship went most; but still many  
 ships were slower than that. The king bade Sigurd  
 squinteye to get into a boat and row forward to the

A.D. 1221. small-ships, and speak thus to them that seldom rowed  
 The Rib- old Birchshanks so slowly when they had such  
 balds fly work to do. After that the cutters made more way.  
 from the The Ribbalds thought these were ships of burthen on  
 king, and a voyage and rowed as straight on against them as  
 lose their ships. they could. But when they fell to shooting on board  
 the small-ships at those who were nearest to them  
 the Ribbalds saw that weather vanes glistened in the  
 sunshine on the long-ships. Then they thought they  
 knew that there were greater men in company with  
 the Birchshanks than liegemen alone. Then they  
 put their stems about and wanted to turn in along the  
 firth. When the king saw that he steered to cut  
 them off with the big-ships, so that they had no  
 choice of that. Then they turned back to land by  
 the shortest way. They left their ships at a place  
 called Jolund, and hewed off the ship's beaks. The  
 Birchshanks who were nearest ran after them; but  
 there was a bridge in their way. The Ribbalds broke  
 it down, and so they got away. Some men of them  
 fell, and some were wounded. So chaunted Sturla  
 Thord's son :—

Sturla's  
verses.

Eastward till he came to Varna  
 The monarch with his ships held on;  
 The waster of the Rhine-fires treasure  
 Made the Ribbalds fortune heavy,  
 And the angry arrow-keeper  
 Drove the unruly crew ashore.  
 Rebels then were taught a lesson  
 As the king cleft their painted shields.

Earl  
Skuli's  
dealings  
with bishop  
Nicholas.

67. Earl Skuli was in Oslo, as was before written.  
 He bade bishop Nicholas to lend him Skeggia his ship;  
 but the bishop would not do that, and threatened him  
 with his ban if he touched St. Halvard's ship. Then  
 the earl answers: "It is not so long since Sigurd the  
 " Ribbald took two of thy ships, and thou didst not  
 " put him under a ban for that; and so we will take  
 " these ships boldly. But if thou putttest us under a  
 " ban for taking thy ships to rid the land (of robbers),

“ but thou borest with those who before were put under A.D. 1221.  
 “ a ban for their misdeeds, then thou wilt find that The earl  
 “ ban costs thee very dear, and so too those who serve starts to  
 “ thee.” After that the bishop lent him the ship with aid the  
 her figureheads and all her tackling. Gregorius took that king, but  
 ship which was called Stockbuss, and Paul barrowpole comes too  
 Hase-eye-buss. After that the other captains of bands late.  
 took the biggest ships they could find in the town and  
 put up bulwarks for war all along the broadsides. After  
 that they fared as fast as they could out down the firth.  
 And when they came to Jolund a freeman sprang up  
 on a headland, and called out to them and said that the  
 liegemen and Birchshanks were going out of Tunsberg  
 and meant to go and meet the earl, “but there came  
 “ the Ribbalds against them and ran up to them; now  
 “ they are fighting as hard as they can and I trow  
 “ that the Birchshanks want help, for they have both  
 “ fewer and smaller ships.” The freeman said that  
 because he did not know that the king had come  
 from the north, and was there too in company with  
 them. The earl had not then heard of the king.  
 After that two men grasped each oar and rowed as  
 fast as they could. It was all at once that the king  
 saw the earl coming, and that the Ribbalds left their  
 ships. Then the king sent a cutter to the earl to tell  
 him what had happened; and that they needed not to  
 row more than was easiest to them. When the earl  
 was ware of that they rowed at their leisure. The  
 king’s men took the ships of the Ribbalds and made  
 other war-spoil, and set men to watch there till it was  
 shared. After that the king and earl met and each The king’s  
 greeted the other blithely. men share  
 the spoil.

68. After the Ribbalds were chased they turned east up  
 by the landway on to the Marches. But when the king  
 and earl were ware of that then they turned in along  
 Oslofirth and sailed in the evening to Howwick and the  
 next morning in to Hofudisle. There the king ran into

A.D. 1221. shore, and almost all the host; but some ships ran up at once to the town, and these captains of hosts with them: Paul barrowpole, Asolf king's kinsman, Kolbein catback, Hacon the wily and almost all the liegemen of the Uplands. In the evening came news to the king and earl that the Ribbalds would attack the town in the night. The king sent his trumpeter to the town, and let him summon all men out of the town. But they gave little heed to that and stayed nevertheless; but some lay out at anchor. Next morning at dawn came Sigurd the Ribbald rushing into the town and all his host. They ran down the street and on to the wharves, and threw some men into the river and wounded some. But the Birchshanks got out to the ships from the wharves, and some men were wounded by shooting. Hacon the wily had gone up into the town, and he jumped into the river shot in the leg, and after that was drawn up into a ship. Four men of the Birchshanks were killed. But those Birchshanks who were in the ships put on their arms and pulled up to the wharves. But when the Ribbalds saw that they turned away up to the street and so north out of the town, and the Birchshanks after them.

King  
Hacon  
and the  
earl row  
up to the  
town.

69. King Hacon and earl Skuli lay under Hofudisle And when they heard that horns were blowing in the town all the host armed itself and they rowed to the town. Those ships were last ready which were biggest, the king's ship and the busses. Then said Ogmund the king's standard-bearer "Lord, now you may see how the Ribbalds are running north out of the town, and there we do nothing as things stand. It is now better counsel that we turn across into Gyljandi, and land there, and so go east over Acre-hedge towards Frysjo, and then we shall meet them at the bridge, and then we shall do more work, if God wills." The king said he would willingly do that; and called out to those ships that were nearest and bade them turn west. But Bairn-



Peter and those who were slowest a-foot said they A.D. 1221. were not able to chase after the Ribbalds through the woods, and many backed him in that. And so all the ships turned in to the wharves. But those cutters which had first rowed away from the isle came first to the gangways, and ran up on land at once. And just then three bands of Ribbalds came into the town. And when they and the cutter-men met, the Ribbalds thought they were their men, and asked where their king Sigurd was. Then the Birchshanks knew that they were Ribbalds. Then they came quick to blows; then the Ribbalds gave way north along the street, but some turned to the Acres. There fell eighty men of the Ribbalds. But those Birchshanks who had first ran after the Ribbalds followed them north to that river which is called Fad, and there they shot at one another awhile. The Ribbalds made off, but the Birchshanks turned back to Oslo. So sang Sturla :—

The Ethelings men a little later  
Sailed on their way to Oslo town;  
And the band of outlaws scattered  
On bye-ways from the chieftains steel.

Sturla's  
verses.

And again he sang this :—

Hordaland's ruler, outlaw queller,  
Bearing high his helm of terror,  
Marched against the Ribbald band;  
Then his foemen fell before him,  
Victims to the ravens black,  
Other-some escaped in haste.

70. King Hacon and earl Skuli made ready their march out of the town, and before they went filled all the Uplands with stewards. They sailed out to Howwick and had there a meeting of the body-guard. The earl said that he would march up to Folla to revenge Rognvald Halkell's son whom the Folla-men had slain without a cause, and burn their lands. The king answers, "I have no vengeance to take after Rognvald, for his kinsmen have rather

The earl  
marches  
to Folla  
to avenge  
the death  
of Rogn-  
vald.

A.D. 1221. " lowered my family. But since the men of Folla  
 The earl " slew him without a cause, then I will say nothing  
 takes ven- " against it that you should go with a force and avenge  
 geance on " him on them." Then the earl marched up to Folla,  
 the Fol- and Gregory John's son, Rognvald's father's brother,  
 lings for the slaying and many Birchshanks; but most of those who had  
 of Rogn- and been Crozier-men. They burnt great part of the tilled  
 vald. land; but the yeomen made no struggle. After that  
 the Birchshanks went to their ships. And the men  
 of Folla came, and the yeomen settled to pay a fine,  
 two marks of gold from every district all over the Fold  
 Then this was sung:—

Wreaked, I reckon, Rognvald's death,  
 East when the shield-men burnt the land.  
 Before the blaze were houses shrinking.  
 It was no idle tale that Skuli  
 Struck terror into boasting breasts  
 Of Follungs, men who hail from Fold.  
 The farmers houses fiercely flaming  
 Taught them a lesson of respect.

The king  
 and earl  
 have hard  
 weather  
 on their  
 voyage to  
 Bergen.

71. After that the king and the earl sailed out to  
 Earlsisle and busked them to go north to Bergen.  
 Lodin Paul's son was left behind on the Berg. But  
 Guttorm Gunni's son on Grenland, and stewards east  
 by the Elf. Arnbjorn John's son and Lodin Gunni's  
 son went north with the king. They lay some  
 nights in Hornbora-sound, and took the sea thence  
 one evening and they had all drunk hard. In the  
 night very rough weather came on and rain in their  
 teeth. They sailed in to shore to a harbour, and  
 knew not whither they were going. In the morning  
 at dawn they sailed in through Tregda-sound. They  
 got on a scar and broke their rudder. After that they  
 made good way north to Bergen. After that they  
 came to the town. Then there had come thither  
 from the north the lady Margaret, and lady Ragnhild  
 her mother, and Sigrid the earl's sister, who was after-  
 wards abbess of Rein. They had come from the north  
 because that then Lodin Gunni's son got to wife

Ingibjorg Erling's daughter, the sister of the earl. A.D. 1221. Then the bridal was held in the king's house.

72. At that time came from the north from Helgeland the followers of Vegard of Veradale, and told the king those tidings that Andrew shield-band the king's kinsman had let Vegard be slain, the greatest friend of the king and his brother-in-law. The king asked what was laid to his charge. They say that he brought no charge against him, but that they were sitting north at Hinn in the house of Andrew which is called Höfn and Vegard was a little higher up the country. Then Vegard came to Höfn and asked Andrew to table, but Andrew said yes. Then Vegard sent home some of his lads to lay the board. Andrew bade Vegard go to that house in which the Finn-skatt was, and bade him take care it was not spoilt. Vegard went to the house. There was one plank sunk down over the door. Vegard took off his steel cap and looked in. Then two men of Andrew's ran up, Botolf limb and the other Ozur nit, and wounded him with death-wounds. That pleased the king very ill, and he thought by this deed he had lost two men who were trustiest to him, but he thought he knew from what roots this had sprung. Then the king went to the earl and told him these tidings, and he was sure from what the earl said, that he thought it would be no bad thing if this were avenged on Andrew.

Andrew shield-band slays Vegard of Veradale in Helgeland.

The king is grieved, and the earl pleased.

73. Now the king calls to him his friends and asked counsel in this matter. He got that advice from them, that Andrew should lose the honour he held of the king, but not forfeit his life, though he deserved it; for they saw that nothing else was at the bottom of this than those who wished that both of them should die. A little after Andrew came to the town and had a new twenty-bencher well manned. Andrew repented him of his deed and thought he saw what snares had been laid for him. The king

The king deprives Andrew of his stewardship, but the earl gives him another.

A.D. 1221. took away from him the stewardship, but the earl gave Andrew one of his own stewardships that winter.

74. When the autumn wore away they went to the king, Arnbjorn John's son, Halvard the climber, and Lodinn Gunni's son, and other Bay-dwellers, and said they had heard the Ribbalds were getting much strength in the Bay. When the king and earl heard that then they set out on their voyage hastily. The king took a twenty-bencher which Ivar nosy had let make, but the earl took the bishop's ship. They fared till they came east off Agdir. Then they heard that some bands of Ribbalds were come from the east there in the neighbourhood. Then they took the men out of their ships and let them fall on them out of lighter ships. There some of the Ribbalds fell, but the rest fled away. Much cattle were taken from them, and they put them into a ship of burthen and wished so to sail with them out to the (war) ships. They got sharp weather and sailed into breakers, and lost there the ship of burthen and many good men. Slitandi was the name of an old Birchshank who was there lost, a Shetlander. But those who got off were holpen by this that they swam on the bodies of drowned cattle. So they got to land. King Hacon and earl Skuli sailed that day to Grenmar and in off the Ness, and got a very great storm; the wind was both high and foul, and they had to bale both fore and aft, and they were all but lost. The king's ship and earl's ship and Arnbjorn's ship were the only ones that held their course, but all the other ships turned in out of their course to havens. They ran in at Arey and heard that Sigurd the Ribbald and Benny were in Romarick with a great force, but some bands of the Ribbalds were south in the Bay. But when folk came to the king they gave that counsel that the earl should sail south and look up the Ribbalds, but the king should stay in Tunsberg with his force.

The king  
and earl  
sail to the  
Bay.



There was a man named Gunnar Asa's son, he had been an old Crozierman, and a great foe of the Birchshanks; he had become handbound to king Hacon when the Croziermen gave themselves up. But because he got no honour from the king as he wanted, then he ran off to the Ribbalds, and got at once a fief from them; and he got together a great band, and there was not any man who did worse than he. The earl sailed east and heard that Gunnar was in Vettar hundred. He got news of where he was, and two other bands of the Ribbalds besides. And when it was darkest at night they came on Gunnar at a place called Apple-seat. The Birchshanks threw a ring round the house and farm, and few men came out, and they were slain at once. But Gunnar and those men who were with him did the best they could to meet them; he had a great following. Amundi the hot was the name of the earl's standard-bearer; he was smitten with an arrow in the throat and got his death at once. There was a hard tussle, for the Ribbalds defended themselves like men. There fell Gunnar Asa's son and ninety men with him. So sang Snorri Sturla's son in the Key to Metres:—

A.D. 1221.  
The earl  
sails south  
to look up  
the Rib-  
balds, but  
the king  
stays at  
Tunsberg.

The earl  
defeats the  
Ribbalds.

Bloody patés the battle-maker  
Taught hurlers of the spear to don.  
East away straight on the shore  
The sailors shoved boats ruddy beaks.  
The lord of rings pierced breasts of men  
With the points of arrows sharp.  
The prince enlarged his foemen's brain-pans  
With wide wounds from sharp-edged sword.

Snorri's  
verses.

And again he sang:—

Ne'er thought twice the honour-seeker  
To push on when men he met;  
The mail-coat crusher in wars hurly  
Marched in front of banner red.  
The land was cleared, and Drontheim's ruler  
Shaped for the Ribbalds heavy death;  
And Gunnar laid his brainless head-piece  
Under the paw of grim-set wolf.

A.D. 1221. 75. After that the earl turned north back to Tunsberg and found the king there. Then that plan was made that the earl was left behind in the Bay, but the king fared north back to Bergen, and came there before Yule and sat there that winter. This was the fifth year of the reign of king Hacon. Sooner than was expected after they had parted, the king and earl, then the earl heard that Gudolf Blacky was in Oslo hundred with a great band of men. He was in the town by day, but at nights in the hundred at various farms. The earl took some cutters and sailed in to Hofudisle. Then he heard that Gudolf was at Foss at a monk's farm a little way from the town. The earl came at dawn on Gudolf, and threw a ring round the farm and drew up his men for an assault. There fell several men of the Ribbalds, but Gudolf got away. The earl fell often on the Ribbalds that winter and slew their men. So sung Snorri Sturla's son:—

The earl  
falls often  
on the  
Ribbalds  
that winter.

Wasted well the band of outlaws,  
The earl so brave at point of spear;  
Gray wolf stalked among the slain.  
High o'er foeman sang the steel.  
The Prince who squanders hoarded treasure  
Made many shorter by the head,  
Thus the wrathful Prince knows how  
To punish robbery 'mong men.

The men of Had and Hein had gathered a force against the Ribbalds after they had sprung up and guarded both provinces so manfully that the Ribbalds did not thrive there. Gunnbjorn and Thorbjorn bishop's-man had the stewardship in Hadeland and round Thotn. Sigurd the Ribbald had given on his behalf the stewardship of Hadeland to Bergthor lock and Eystein ring. The Ribbalds drew a ship out of Drammen and up into Tyri, and so up into Rënd. But when the stewards of the Birchshanks heard that they marched against them with the freemen, and they met at the strand called Leini and came to

blows at once. It went better for the Ribbalds at first, but afterwards the loss of men turned against them, and well two hundred of the Ribbalds fell, but Sigurd fled, and the Birchshanks took all their ships. After that battle the freemen were much scattered and kept no watch on their farms. And when Sigurd heard that he fared up into Hadeland, and came unawares on John cut at that farm which is called Hlunnr and slew him there. After that the freemen came to terms with Sigurd and paid great fines. Then Sigurd let them set up his abode in the isle Frodung in Tyri, and took hostages of the freemen and filled the stewardships in Hadeland. The men of Tellemark and the men of Verdale also then came much over to Sigurd's side. When the men of Hein heard of the blow which the Hader had got, then they guarded their country all the better, so that the Ribbalds did not spread thither; nay, the freemen rode after the Ribbalds up into Romarick and gave them many blows. After that there befell many things between the Birchshanks and Ribbalds in which either side was fain of its feats. In the spring after Candlemass the earl heard that the Ribbalds were in the western part of Oslo-stewardship with some bands. Earl Skuli sent Eric cirizo with his followers, and sent word to Oslo to Harold stake-foal and those captains of bands who sat there that they should march on the Ribbalds. There too Eric and Harold marched to look for them, and they met at a place called Svans and fought there. They fell on one another so fast that the standard-bearers met, and the Birchshanks got the standard-bearer of the Ribbalds taken whose name was Herbjorn; but there fell Asti, who had been the standard-bearer of Sigurd and some of the followers of the Ribbalds. After that the Ribbalds fled, but the Birchshanks fared out

A.D. 1221.

The Ribbalds are defeated up the country by the stewards, but keep hold of Hadeland and Tellemark.

A.D. 1222. to the earl and had Herbjorn with them; he was afterwards one of earl Skuli's bodyguard.

King  
Hacon  
goes to  
Drontheim  
about  
Lent in  
very rough  
weather.

76. About Lent, in the spring, king Hacon busked him north to Drontheim; goodman Dagfinn, Bard tough-stone and Hacon the wily went with him. The king had seven ships. Over Easter he lay in Leirgula and sailed thence the fourth day of Easter round Stad in very heavy weather. Three nights afterwards he sailed in under Agdirness in such a storm that it tore all their sails away, and the ship drove hither and thither under the ness. The king could do nothing else against it than to hold on in for the river. It was flood tide when he got to the river's mouth, and they could throw out no cables for the storm. Then they drove up on the sand off Bakki. Then all the folk went up to the town and carried ropes down to the ship, and she was dragged up with difficulty.

The king  
and the  
archbishop  
become  
friends,  
and the  
king re-  
turns to  
Bergen.

77. Archbishop Guttorm was then in the town. He greeted the king with all things in the most honourable way. They often had talk together. Once the king asked the archbishop why he fell into such great enmity to him while he was in his childhood. The archbishop says that the power of other men no less than his own ill-will led him to that. Then all the truth came out before the king. Then the archbishop gave his word to them that he would come the next summer to Bergen; and then do him (the king) all the more honour that before he had seemed to fall short. King Hacon set Gregory John's son to watch over all the Drontheim district for the sake of the great strife which was then in the Uplands. The king busked him from the north when the spring wore on and sailed to Bergen, and sat there that summer.

78. Earl Skuli sat in Tunsberg, but Arnbjorn John's son was east of the Firth and there guarded the land. The Ribbalds were up the country and had great



strength. They had carried many ships up in the Eyja-<sup>A.D. 1222.</sup> lake. The stewards of the Birchshanks lay then in lake Mjösen, and had great force; their leaders were Harold stakefoal and Olaf drowsy, Frederick slobberer, and Thorgeir bishop's man. The Ribbalds came up into Mjösen with their ships, and looked up the Birchshanks round the lake. Then king Sigurd was at their head and many captains of bands<sup>1</sup> with him. They met the Birchshanks at a place called Squirrel-holms and there was a battle. The Ribbalds had more folk and were very hot, but the Birchshanks withstood them manfully. And the end of it was that the Ribbalds fled,<sup>Sigurd is defeated, and Benny killed.</sup> and the Birchshanks won the day. There fell well on to the second hundred of the Ribbalds and these captains of bands: Styr the priest, Örmolf of Folafield, Audun eastsea, Thorbjorn the stiff. Of the Birchshanks few fell. Sigurd fled up on to Thotn and made thence for the fell. That summer Arnbjorn John's son heard that Benny skinknife was up in Romarick with a great company, and did there much mischief. Arnbjorn sent men after him with Helgi fleshhen, and those whom he thought boldest. They found him up by Eyja-lake. Benny jumped on shipboard. They got hold of the ship and slew almost all the men. Benny jumped overboard, and hid himself here and there under the ships. It was long ere they got to find him, but at last he was found. And there Benny lost his life with little glory.

79. King Hacon sat in Bergen that summer, and had all the liegemen from the north out of the land where the Gula-Thing's law ran. And when he heard of strife in the Uplands, then he busked him to sail east to the Bay. But about the time of Lady-Day came men from the north out of Drontheim from Gregory John's son, and say that the Ribbalds were come north over the fell, and aimed at Drontheim. These men bade the king hasten north. The king

King Hacon sails to Drontheim to meet the Ribbalds from the Uplands.

A.D. 1222. bade them blow the horns for a meeting of the bodyguard at once, and tells these tidings, and gave out that he would turn north, but all said they would follow him. The king sent men and letters for Gregory John's son and Ivar nosy, and they busked them as fast as they could after him. On Thursday the king sailed north with thirty-five ships. And as he sailed north off the Sogn sea he met there a galley which had come from Iceland. On board her was bishop Gudmund, and he told the king many tidings from Iceland. That spring Sighvat Sturla's son and the bishop's men had fought in Grimsey; but early in the winter Tumi was slain at Holar by the bishop's men. The king meant to sail north round Aley sound. Then there came messengers of Gregory John's son in a fast cutter, and said that the Ribbalds had come north across the fell with a great host, and done much harm where they came. They fared north all into Soknadale to the farm which Ivar in Berudale owned, and did there many wicked things. But when the freemen in Gaulardale heard that they sent round the arrow of war, and there was a gathering of all kinds against them. When the Ribbalds heard that then they turned east over the fell, and the messengers told the king that there was not less expectation that they might come down into Romsdale or into Mæren. The king sailed north to Leirgula, for he could not know that the Ribbalds would not come down on Mæren. There he stayed till he heard surely that the Ribbalds had turned into Eastdale.

News from  
Iceland.

Finding it  
was a false  
alarm, the  
king re-  
turns to  
Bergen.

The king  
cannot get  
his dues  
for the  
earl.

80. King Hacon turned back east. He came after Michaelmass to Bergen. Then the king gave the liegemen leave to go home, but he gathered stores to sit there that winter. The king had before ordered out the levy in the summer in both halves of Agdir province; but earl Skuli had already taken away almost

all the levy. The king got some out of the north half A.D. 1222. but nothing out of the south. The king called to him his councillors, and tells them that. And it seemed so to all as though the earl wanted to make his third of Norway big, when he wanted to have all the Bay and all the Uplands, and all north to Rygja-fylki; but earl Eric, brother of king Sverrir, and Philip the Croziermen's king so took their third that they had it between Svine-sound and Rygja-bit; and so former princes had shared the land between them. Then king Hacon sent word to the earl with letters; and said thus that he misliked to have such a sharing of the land any more; and the earl would not have strife with the Ribbalds alone if he went on longer in this way.

81. That summer they, Andrew shieldband and Ivar outwick, set off on warfare to Bjarmaland. They had four ships. But that was the cause of their going that these men had fared some winters before on a trading voyage to Bjarmaland, Andrew of Seven-times, and Sweyn Sigurd's son, and Ögmund of Spanheim, and many others. They had two ships. And Andrew and Sweyn came back in the autumn; but the rest sat behind with the other ship, and Helgi Bogran's son and his shipmates. Ögmund of Spanheim also stayed behind, and fared in the autumn back into Sudr-dalerick with his men and traded. But the men of Helgeland were at variance with the king of the Bjarmir. But in the winter the Bjarmir fell on them and slew all the ship's company. But when Ögmund heard that he fared east to Holmgard (Novgorod) and thence by the east out to the sea; and did not stay till he came to Jerusalem. Thence he fared back to Norway, and became very famous for his travels. Then Andrew and Ivar fared to Bjarmaland, and made there the greatest warfare in manslayings and plundering, and got much goods in greyskins and burnt

The king is displeased at the earl's demands, and will not submit to the existing arrangement.

Andrew shieldband and Ivar outwick fare to Bjarmaland, and come to grief after getting great spoil.

A.D. 1222. silver. And when they fared from the north they sailed into a race off Straumness Cheek and three ships got out of it; but a sea broke on the sail of that ship which Ivar was aboard, and the ship heeled over so that the sea dashed in, and next to that she cap-sized. Jogrim was the name of the man who got Ivar on to the keel, and a third man got on the keel. They put off a boat from Thorberg's ship; and the sea washed the stern out of the boat, and Jogrim got them into the boat. But then Jogrim said he could not see his partner Thorstein, and jumped then again swimming into the race. And then he lost his life, and all those who were on board the ship but those two, Ivar and the other. There great goods were lost. Andrew fared in the autumn to Helgeland. And since then there has been no sailing from Norway to Bjarmaland.

Earl Skuli in the Bay. 82. Now we must tell of earl Skuli, that he sat in the Bay and had there a great force and great cost. Arnbjorn was east of the firth and guarded the land there so that the Ribbalds could not stand against him. The stewards were still then up on Mjösen with a great force; but the Ribbalds went about much sundered, and showed themselves here and there. They fared out into Hadeland, and Sigurd sat him down on the isle Frodung on Tyrir. When earl Skuli heard that he made ready to go in to Drammen. He had a great ship of six and twenty benches and many small ships. He had meant to drag the ships in into lake Tyri and thence up into lake Rënd. But when the earl came to Drammen they were to take up the ship by the outer stream. Then came the Ribbalds and shot at them for awhile. Then the ship broke loose. So the end of it was there that the Ribbalds fled as far east as the Marches; but the earl fared to Tunsberg, and a little after east into the Bay to look for the Ribbalds. The sons of Tobba held the Elf-stewardship on behalf of the Ribbalds. The earl



sent against them Simon kine and Thord draffle and Thorfin the bad ; and they met the sons of Tobba at Hlessisle and slew them there. The Ribbalds had a great force east of the Firth, so that there were not less than fourteen hundred men who had come into Sigurd's hand. These were in the Borg-stewardship of the Ribbalds: Herjolf dint and Eric ribbon. They and Arnbjorn John's son had many tussles, and it was always worse for the Ribbalds. The earl stayed three weeks in the Bay, and the Birchshanks and the Ribbalds had many fights which are not written here.

83. Earl Skuli sat for the most part in Tunsberg. A little after he heard of the Ribbalds, and sent then against them, and says that where two men were partners in a hammock they should draw lots: which should go. Then Thorir flick and Jatgeir skald were bed-fellows, and Jatgeir drew the lot to go. They found the Ribbalds at a place called Kyrfell and fought them. Then again fell some Ribbalds, but some fled, but the Birchshanks went back to the earl. Thorir asked his partner Jatgeir how it had gone off. He sang a song :—

I saw the laggard Goat-skin Thorir  
Far from me on Kyrja fell ;  
I heard that summer when we played  
With Ribbalds at the game of swords,  
Thou at Tunsberg safe wert lying  
Dazed in the arms of paramour.

Jatgeir's  
verses.

The earl took great pains in rooting out the bands of the Ribbalds, and send ever men against them whenever he heard of them. In the autumn the earl sent word to bishop Nicholas that he would lay some plan for rooting out the band of the Ribbalds ; but the bishop got a woman whose name was Asa black, a concubine of Gudolf's, to egg on the Ribbalds to come to terms with the earl.

84. In the summer Sigurd the Ribbald got men to find out from the earl what terms he would grant him if

A.D. 1222. he gave up all opposition to him and the Birchshanks.

King  
Sigurd  
wishes to  
come to  
terms, and  
asks for a  
third of  
Norway,  
and asks  
the earl  
to give  
him his  
daughter  
to wife.

The earl  
grants him  
nothing  
except  
peace.

When this was brought before the earl he treated the agreement as not unlikely, and said he was eager to know what he asked; and then there were sendings of letters and goings between them. Then Sigurd gave out his mind, he asked for a third of Norway and that the earl would give him his daughter to wife. But when the earl heard that he answers thus: "King  
" Hacon has power as to what share of the land he  
" will give to Sigurd; but I do not think that I shall  
" give my daughter away out in woods and wastes;  
" and I will not minish my third of the land. But this  
" I will promise to Sigurd, if he puts himself into my  
" power, that he and all his men shall have peace. I  
" will also bring that about that he shall go to  
" king Hacon in peace; then he may plead his own  
" cause, with the aid of those men who will back his  
" business as to sharing the land or other honours; but  
" I will not then be against him, but rather do this  
" that the king shall do him honour. Now he shall  
" choose whether he will take these terms or keep up  
" strife against us Birchshanks." But when these  
terms came to the Ribbalds, then they took counsel,  
and those terms seemed harder to them which the earl  
had laid down than they looked for. But since they  
were then hard pressed, so that they had neither food  
nor abodes in the Uplands and in the Bay, and they  
thought it was not handy for them to make for the  
north of the land where the king would be against them,  
so they took that plan that Sigurd rode and gave him-  
self up to earl Skuli, and gave up the title of king, and  
the band came into the earl's power, and stipulated  
in return for himself the earl's friendship and his plead-  
ing with the king to honour him. The earl received  
him well and behaved honourably to him. But that  
rumour ran round the Bay that this was the fairest  
victory that the earl had won; as he had without a

King  
Sigurd  
gives him-  
self up to  
earl Skuli  
who is  
much  
praised  
for this  
settlement.

battle rooted out so large and strong a band as the Ribbalds were; and brought it about that there was peace all over Norway. That spring, when Sigurd was with earl Skuli, earl Skuli sailed to Denmark and had thirteen ships. And when he came to Copenhagen then earl Henry had taken king Waldemar captive. Then the earl sailed back to Norway when he heard these tidings.

A.D. 1222-1223.  
The Ribbalds follow their king's example, and there is peace all over Norway.

85. King Hacon sat in Bergen when these tidings happened. This was the sixth winter of his reign. In the spring men passed between him and the earl, and it was agreed that a meeting of chiefs should be the summer after at Bergen, and that all the best men who might be in the land should come to it, for that now there was peace throughout all the land. But still there was a great claim on the king's realm and heritage on behalf of those men who wished to push themselves up to the kingdom. But for that the king was young, and others had of long time sat in his heritage, then there were a great many men who were in great doubt whom they should serve. Some there were who would willingly stand in the way of the stock of king Sverrir and of his offspring, for the old hatred which they had to him; and so men were of two minds all over the land, and mostly the great men. Most of the common people were well-wishers to king Hacon both north and south of the land.

A.D. 1223.  
A meeting at Bergen to consider king Hacon's claims.

86. This meeting began on Olaf's eve. The king was at it in Bergen, and bishop Havard and bishop Henry of Stavanger, and Sörkvir bishop of the Faroes. And these clerks: archdeacon Nicholas and abbot Sigurd. And these liegemen: Paul flida, his son Peter, Brynjolf Canute's son, John steel, Gaut of Mel, and Ivar nosy. There too were come John earl of the Orkneys, and bishop Bjartni, and Gregory kick of Shetland. There were the lawmen of Gula-Thing: goodman Dagfinn and Amundi cockscomb. There were also called by name

List of those present at the meeting.

A.D. 1222 out of every province the most well-to-do and best  
-1223. freemen. All the abbots and stewards came thither.  
List of But out of Drontheim came these : archbishop Guttorm,  
those Sweyn prior of Elk-shieling, Asgaut abbot of Holm,  
present Sigurd abbot of Tautra, master Bjartni, Peter of Hous e  
at the stead, Eysteinn talker. These liegemen too: Gregory  
meeting. John's son, Paul barrow-pole, Asolf of Eastairt. These  
were the lawmen : Gunnar porridge-back, Bjarni Mord's  
son, and Thorstein Asmundi's son. Out of the Bay from  
the east came : earl Skuli, Arnbjorn John's son, Lodin  
Gunni's son, Lodin Paul's son, Simon kine, Eistein  
lawman, Thord skulker. From the Uplands were these  
lawmen : Saxi of Haug and Thord Gudmund's son.  
And these stewards : Halvard the climber, Gunnbjorn  
John's brother, Kolbjorn the red, and Harold veseti.  
Most of these had prayed and counselled earl Skuli  
that he was rightfull heir to Norway after king Ingi.  
Then came Nicholas bishop of Oslo, Askatin abbot of  
Hofudisle, and Worm abbot of Tunsberg. These  
provosts : Ivar gosling of Oslo, Jofrey of Tunsberg,  
Amundi of Grenland, Olaf of Kingserag, and Thorgeir  
the archdeacon. From the Uplands : master Thorleif  
and provost Bard. And these stewards : Olaf drowsy,  
Harold stakepole, Aslacr, Thorgeirr bishopsman,  
Havard in Sandby, Frederick slobberer, Einridi book-  
ling, and Eilif backbent.

Wise men have so said, who were then in Bergen,  
that never in those days has a better choice of men  
come together in the king of Norway's realm. The  
chiefs met often, but sometimes they had meetings  
among them each with his councillors. These were  
the king's councillors, together with his liegemen :  
Martin in Kinnzarwick, Sigurd of Onarheim, Askell  
John's son, his chaplain, who was afterwards bishop in  
Stavanger, the brother of Arnbjorn and Gaut of  
Mel, and Ivar dart. These bore messages on the  
king's behalf to the archbishop that they should meet

The chiefs  
meet often  
and con-  
sult to-  
gether.



in the wooden hall, and all the other chiefs, liegemen and lawmen. This meeting was to be on the Sunday after Lady-day the first. A.D. 1223.

When they had come into the hall and had sat awhile, then king Hacon first began his speech in this wise: "Lord archbishop, it is known to you and to the other bishops also, and to most of the good men who are come here, that there are some here who will strive for the realm of Norway; but I thought that it was the inheritance of my fathers, and that I was the true rightful heir to Norway both of old and new. But because this meeting has been fixed hither of all the wisest men who are in the land, then it befits you well, lord archbishop, to have something to say in the matter which would both be to speed it and yet to settle it by proof; for that ye are set at our head both on behalf of God and as chief of men. Ye are bound to be daysman between all men; to be afraid of no one in saying what you know to be true whether it be lieve or loath to them. You know too, most of all men, the claims of those who challenge this kingdom."

87. The archbishop answers in this fashion: "It is certainly true, lord, that we are bound to do right between all men, if we can; and so may God will it may be. We have heard the utterances of many men who reckon themselves heirs to Norway, and the evidence of most of all of them is known to us; but still we will readily listen and utter what God teaches us, with the advice of good men who are here present. This we pray and offer on behalf of God that all men should say that which they know to be truest about this in the sight of God. You sit now, king Hacon, in the kingdom and say thus, and all your friends say, that you are heir to Norway after your father; and that all your forefathers have before ruled this realm, man after man, so that

King  
Hacon's  
speech.

The arch-  
bishop's  
answer.

A.D. 1223. "no woman's knee has ever come between them;  
 "and I think that most men back you in that that  
 The arch- "this is true which you say. Earl Skuli has come  
 bishop's "from the east, and very good men with him, and  
 speech. "he calls himself king Ingi's heir. We have heard  
 "many of his friends affirm that with him. Here too  
 "is Guttorm king Ingi's son, and claims Norway after  
 "his father. Here too is Sigurd the Ribbald with earl  
 "Skuli, the son of Erling stonewall, whom the Bay-  
 "dwellers held as their king; and claims to be heir  
 "to Norway after king Magnus Erling's son, whom he  
 "calls his grandfather. Men have come hither from  
 "the east out of Gothland from squire Canute, son of  
 "earl Hacon, and plead thus on his behalf as men  
 "know to be true, that he claims to be the lawfully  
 "begotten heir of the earl and also of king Ingi,  
 "according to the agreement which they made between  
 "them at the Eyra-Thing. Here now are the letters  
 "and seals of those brothers, and Thorir the arch-  
 "bishop and other bishops, which bear witness to this  
 "that he of them who left lawful heirs after him, he  
 "should take the inheritance after both of them. Now  
 "it must be spoken to all those men who are now  
 "here, clerks and laymen, that each should utter what  
 "he knows to be truest before God in this matter.  
 "But though we know whom we will back in this  
 "matter, still we wish to hear what more men have  
 "to throw out."

King  
 Hacon  
 answers  
 him.

88. Then earl Skuli began to speak: "It is certain,  
 "lord archbishop, that I am king Ingi's lawfully be-  
 "gotten brother by the same father; and his true  
 "heir by the laws of the saint king Olaf." King  
 Hacon answers to these words of the earl: "Thou  
 "art certainly the heir of king Ingi in all that ye  
 "two took rightfully after your father, but not to  
 "his realm of Norway; for king Ingi was set to  
 "watch on my behalf the inheritance of my fathers."

The earl answers: "I call myself certainly his heir to A.D. 1223.  
 " all the rights which he had." Then the king  
 answers: "That thou shalt now know whether he Speeches  
 " inherited Norway after my father king Hacon, or of the  
 " whether he was set to keep it by the arrangement chiefs and  
 " of good men." As the archbishop heard that they lawmen.  
 were falling into some shortness, then he begged them  
 to cease such kind of words. After that the friends  
 of each uttered what each of them liked.

89. After that John steel stood up and said, " We  
 " thought, we old Birchshanks, when we underwent  
 " most toil with king Sverrir and stood it out against  
 " many bands that there would be no need of such talk  
 " as this; for we all fought to save his inheritance for  
 " himself and his offspring. But it is not wonderful  
 " in some way after all that earl Skuli pursues this  
 " quarrel; for we have heard that those lawmen are  
 " now here inside this hall who told the earl that  
 " he was rightful heir to the kingdom after king Ingi;  
 " and this is spoken for you, Amundi cockscorn and  
 " Eystein Roar's son, as ye sit there on the bench."  
 Amundi jumped up and answers: "Where wert thou,  
 " John steel, when I spoke this before thee; or tell  
 " me the man who heard me say that." Then Eystein  
 stood up and denied those words as to himself. Then  
 Arnbjorn John's son said, "May be that our lawmen  
 " have said this when they had more in them of  
 " mead-lees than of the laws of the saint king Olaf.  
 " It may also be that bribes may have come between  
 " them."

90. Then king Hacon stood up and said, "We must King  
 " not so set about to ransack this matter. We should Hacon  
 " first take that lawman who ought to be first out of speaks  
 " Drontheim law, where the king's seat is by right; he again.  
 " is besides the eldest of all the lawmen in the land,  
 " for he took the saying of the law in the days of king  
 " Sverrir and archbishop Eystein. Never have men

A.D. 1223. " found in him falsehood and wrong; and for that  
 " all men hold it to be true that he is the wisest  
 " man in the land. And because, goodman Gunnar,  
 " this is aimed at thee, then say now in the hearing  
 " of all what thou thinkest to be truest before God  
 " in our quarrel."

Gunnar,  
 the lawman  
 of Dront-  
 heim,  
 speaks.

91. Gunnar was slow in beginning to speak. " You  
 " call on me by name, lord king, that I should say  
 " between you lords which of you owns Norway.  
 " But that is a great load for a cotter's child, to allot  
 " so much power, and to judge it away from one  
 " and to another; and I feel that of myself, what I  
 " ween that others will back, that with trembling  
 " and dread I must do this; for when king Sverrir  
 " gave me this task, he bade me settle suits between  
 " cotters, but not between princes; least of all when  
 " they themselves listen whom it concerns. I heard  
 " now a while ago that lawmen denied what was  
 " charged against them. And because most men are  
 " afraid of power, then I will not bind this burthen  
 " on my back to settle in this quarrel. But because  
 " most cotters'-sons have little discernment to settle  
 " such great matters for the sake of want of know-  
 " ledge—may be too that some may be given to lean  
 " to their friends—then let him speak out who knows  
 " what is true, and tells the truth, whether it concerns  
 " rich or poor, but dreads no man that it may mis-  
 " like some one; but that is the law-book of the saint  
 " king Olaf, which after his ordinance was made for  
 " all Norway, and which all Norway kings have since  
 " kept who wish to follow right. But if I shall  
 " speak out what the law bids me as well as I have  
 " wit to do so; then I say thus, that king Hacon is  
 " the only rightful heir to Norway of all those men  
 " who now claim it to-day. And though they both,  
 " king Ingi and earl Hacon, sat in the kingdom to-  
 " day, then I say thus, that king Hacon would have



" the right to step into the inheritance of his fathers, A.D. 1223.  
 " and call them out of the kingship if he were to  
 " get his lawful rights. And therefore I say thus, He declares  
 " that neither earl Skuli after his brother king Ingi, the law to  
 " nor squire Canute after his father earl Hacon, nor be for king  
 " Guttorm after his father king Ingi, have a right to Hacon.  
 " claim Norway while king Hacon lives. But as to  
 " the son of Erling stonewall I lay down no law,  
 " nor am I able to do so; let the Baydwellers lay  
 " down the law for him; they set up him and his  
 " father; they will know where he has to look for  
 " the inheritance of his fathers. Now I must drop  
 " my speech here at this point."

Then the king turned ? to goodman Dagfinn, who next  
 had the utterance of the law in Gula-Thing, and  
 bade him tell them what he knew to be truest before  
 God. Dagfinn began his speech thus: "I came young Goodman  
 " to king Sverrir; and was in two battles with him, Dagfinn  
 " the one when he fought at Floravoe with the declares  
 " Island blades, and the other on Johnsfields against for the  
 " the Croziermen, and this is what he uttered before king.  
 " he went into battle: 'God watch over us and holy  
 " 'Mary and the saint king Olaf; may God so give me  
 " 'victory to-day as I have right to claim and to  
 " 'defend the inheritance of my fathers, but they  
 " 'are wrong who are against me.' And for that I  
 " know that he and his offspring are rightful heirs to  
 " the kingdom; I say this is law, and for this I  
 " will answer to God, that king Hacon is the law-  
 " ful heir to Norway, but no other who here claims  
 " it; and I add this to this utterance of the law, that I  
 " will fight for him and with him lose my life, if  
 " need be." This almost all praised.

93. Then king Hacon spoke to Amundi cockscorb,  
 the lawman of Rygja county: "For that, goodman  
 " Amundi, it has been so said that thou hast some-  
 " what swerved in thy words by saying that I was

A.D. 1223. "not lawful heir to rule in Norway, then say now  
 "what thou thinkest to be truest before God."

Amundi, the law-man, speaks for king Hacon. Amundi answers: "Many fair gifts I have to repay  
 "earl Skuli for; and so many times have I been well  
 "treated by him that I cannot reckon them up.  
 "But I have not drunk away from me wit and fair-  
 "ness, so that I have for that lost manliness or  
 "truthfulness; for this I know before God that king  
 "Hacon is the rightful heir to Norway after his  
 "father king Hacon, and born to all Norway after  
 "his forefathers. But this I have often said, that  
 "earl Skuli is rightful heir at law after his brother  
 "king Ingi to all those heirlooms which he took  
 "rightfully. But now to speak to some of you, bishops  
 "and some of you, liegemen. Confess now to those  
 "utterances which ye spoke when we have all been  
 "sitting by the earl, and been well treated, and have  
 "taken from him good gifts. Ye have besides titles  
 "with great power; but ye should not now creep  
 "out from telling the truth, for ye have often and  
 "with many more entreaties egged on earl Skuli to  
 "put in his claim than the utterance of the law  
 "by Amundi; and long ago would he have raised up  
 "strife if ye had had your way. But may God give  
 "them good peace, the king and earl. And I can-  
 "not add anything more to my speech at this time.  
 "But this I will ask of God, that each of those who  
 "has stirred worse in this matter than Amundi cocks-  
 "comb may now have a horn on his head, and that  
 "not like a bishop's mitre." Arnbjorn answers,  
 and spoke then to Eystein Roar's son: "Eystein,  
 "foster-brother and messmate, we two are old Crozier-  
 "men, and have long been in the same boat together;  
 "now let that out which we two have ever spoken before  
 "the earl." "I ween," answers Eystein, "that many of  
 "us have spoken those words before the earl which we  
 "will not all stand to now; but this I know for a

Eystein  
 Roar's  
 son's  
 speech.

" truth, that I did not say either before him or thee A.D. 1223.  
 " that king Hacon was not rightful heir to Norway  
 " after his father and forefathers "

94. Then the king bade Thord skulker to say the law in his quarrel with the earl. He had the speakership of the law east from Swine-sound. He began his speech thus: " I am not lawman for this, that I know  
 " anything of the laws ; but I have often settled suits  
 " between cotters ; but I am little able to speak about  
 " kings ; and I did not think that it would be my  
 " business to pass judgment between them. But The rest of the lawmen declare for king Hacon.  
 " my father Thord was called a lawman ; and he  
 " said so, that his father told him so, and other of  
 " our forefathers that all Norway men should ever  
 " follow the king's son so long as there was one to  
 " be found. They also added this, that they would  
 " never thrive who were against him."

95. After that the king bade Saxi of the How to say the law. He was from Heidmark. Saxi began his speech thus: " I was with king Hacon the father  
 " of this king ; and I heard all say this, both  
 " bishops and the whole people when the king  
 " had left us, that they would willingly serve  
 " his son if he were to be found. And I say no other  
 " law than that he is rightful heir to Norway after  
 " his father."

96. Then the king bade Thorir the lawman of the southern part of the Uplands to declare his saying. He says thus: " Though I were so witless or illwilling that  
 " I would say otherwise than all these lawmen have  
 " already said, then my words would be nothing worth.  
 " But now I know it before God that I have never  
 " spoken otherwise up to this day, and I say it now  
 " again, that king Hacon owns all Norway as his  
 " rightful heritage ; and I add this besides, that all  
 " we Norway men must follow the king's son so  
 " long as we can, for then it will fare well with

A.D. 1223. " the realm of Norway however it may fare afterwards."

Then the archbishop speaks for the king, and in favour of peace.

97. Then archbishop Guttorm began to speak when the lawmen had ended their utterances: "Now," says he, "we have listened to what our lawmen have spoken; though each of them laid down his own path, still they all said one thing, which we knew before to be true. And we agree willingly that king Hacon is alone the rightful heir to all Norway after his father and forefathers of all those men who are now alive. But still we wish that that arrangement and agreement should stand between king Hacon and earl Skuli which has already been settled as to the sharing of the land; for that is likeliest for peace that they should be the best friends to one another. And this we pray of the king that he treat his kinsman Guttorm in the best way he can. But as to Sigurd Ribbald we are able to say less." After that each of these said their say, Gunnar porridgeback and goodman Dagfinn, and most to the effect to inspire agreement and harmony between the king and earl. And so that meeting came to an end.

The king and earl are good friends.

98. After that they, the king and earl, met daily and spoke over their plans. But when it came to talking of sharing the land into trithings the earl wished to have the southernmost trithing all the way north to Salt-sira. But the king says that it would be more still than had ever been heard of before if it were from Rygjar-bit and so east to the Landsend; but he said he would still be willing to that for the sake of fellowship and peace. And so they parted for that time. After that the liegemen Andrew John's son, Lodin Gunni's son, and the stewards from the Bay took part, and begged the king that he should himself betake him thither east but set the earl north over the Drontheim country. Bishop Nicholas also begged this; and gave his word to the



king that he would be true to him in all things, both openly and secretly. A.D. 1223

After that they, the king and the earl, meet, and the king says that he would then fare east into the land; but he would that the earl should fare north into Drontheim. And when this choice arose, and the sharing into trithings was spoken of, then the king worded it so that the sharing of the land should follow the sharing of the laws, and that the northern trithing should reach from the north to South Mæren; but the earl would have it as far south as the Sogn-sea. But when clear-sighted men considered that king Hacon would only have ten ship-levies over and above the half of the land, then the king spoke against that, and said that it must not be so. Then the archbishop and the earl begged that the same sharing should stand between them as stood between the archbishop's see and that of the bishop of Bergen. And with his counsel it was so settled between them. And after this arrangement letters were written, and the seals of the king and archbishop and the earl and the suffragan bishops that this settlement should stand between them. But if strife arose against the king's realm, then the earl was bound to fare east as well north into the land as soon as the king needed it. And when these things were settled the bishops and liegemen busked them to go home. The king took men from the north out of the land whom he thought were trustiest to him, and set them east in the Bay; but the earl took his friends and had them with him. The king took Goldsides, the biggest ship he owned, and sent her east before him, and Bjorn his mother's brother and Olaf Inga's son steered her. But he himself busked him somewhat later.

99. Sigurd, who had been the Ribbald's king, begged the king that he might follow him east into the Bay. The king granted him that. But when the earl knew Sigurd, the late Ribbald king, goes with the earl.

The king and earl share the realm between them. The king goes east to the Bay and the earl north to Drontheim.

- A.D. 1223. it he said to Sigurd that a'l would not be so trusty as he thought. And after that Sigurd fared north up the country with the earl. King Hacon spoke thus to the earl ere they parted: "Since ye will have Sigurd with you, then keep him honourably; but take care that he makes us no trouble." The earl said he would thoroughly take care for that. Now the earl fares north into the land with his liegemen and followers. But the king fared east into the Bay, and came that Sunday to Tunsberg when the *Adventus Domini* began. There all men received him well. Bishop Nicholas was then in Tunsberg before him, and greeted the king honourably and gave him many gifts. But the king gave him the stewardship of the northern part of Oslo, and gave him an eighteen bencher with all her tackling. The bishop did not fare away from Tunsberg earlier than three nights before Yule; and lay in the Laufisles on Yule-day. Then the king sent to him Jofrey the provost and goodman Dagfinn to bid him back to the king for Yule. The bishop said he would willingly take that offer if he did not get a fair wind before the third day. But then the bishop got a fair breeze into Oslo. Then the bishop sent Ivar the provost with many fair gifts to the king. King Hacon made these liegemen at Yule, Halvard the downright and Simon kine. This was the seventh winter of his reign.
- A.D. 1224. 100. King Hacon fared towards Easter in to Oslo; and was there very long that spring in the house of Thorleik the wise; for the king's house was then not built up after it had been burned down. Then came men from the north from the Canons and earl with letters, and told the death of archbishop Guttorm; and along with it that they had chosen in his stead Sigurd, who had been abbot in Tautra; he was then abroad. They begged the king to add his approval, and write to the pope by him. The king spoke of

The king  
and bishop  
Nicholas  
good  
friends.

this matter with bishop Nicholas; and they thought this about it, that since Sigurd was under an appeal to the pope for what he held before, they thought he was not fitted for such great things. That also had its weight that he was a small friend of the king's. The king and bishop wrote letters to the pope which were against Sigurd. But they begged that Peter of Housestead should be archbishop, who was then on his way to the pope with letters of the earl and Canons to back the suit of Sigurd. So it came about by God's mercy. A.D. 1224.

101. Sigurd the Ribbald had been long east in Vermland when he strove with the Birchshanks, and thence did much mischief on the realm of king Hacon. King Hacon sent letters east in the spring, and summoned better than twenty men who were best in these parts to settle an atonement for these matters. They came to the king at Tunsberg. Then there came also many of the freemen and brought against them the ill-treatment and robberies which they had suffered from the Vermlanders. The Vermlanders laid the whole matter in the king's hands. But the king laid on them heavy fines, but gave them up for mercy's sake; but they swore oaths to the king that they would ever be true to him and never let his enemies thrive in their land. The king sent men east with letters. And this agreement was given out and agreed to at all the Things. The king fines the men of Vermland for their raids.

King Hacon busked him in the spring from Oslo to Tunsberg. And Trinity Day, while he was feasting his followers, a great uproar was heard in the town between the bodyguard and guests and house-carles. There five men fell, but many more wounded. The king came thither into great risk ere he could get them parted. After that the king fared to Bergen. There came to meet him from the west across the sea Gilli-christ and Ottar Snækoll's son and many King Hacon at Oslo and Tunsberg, and thence sails to Bergen.

A.D. 1224. Southislanders; and had many letters as to the need of their lands. Then came earl John of the Orkneys and made atonement to the king in those quarrels which were between them, and set his son Harold there as a hostage, and he was with the king that summer.

Paul barrow-pole and Ivar outwicked quarrel.

102. That summer earl Skuli fared north to Helgeland, and came to a meeting at Voe. Along with him was Sigurd the Ribbald. Ivar outwicked was on the earl's ship in the stern. He ran in to shore in Kirkjuvœ. Next morning when the earl awoke, then all the men of the ship were away forward of the pumps. He asked where they were. It was told him that they were holding a meeting in the Voe, and were most of them with weapons. The earl jumped up with his sword in his linen under-clothing. Those went with him who were left behind in the ship. When he came out into the Voe it had happened that Bard spot and Thord the priest, son of Eric the quarrelsome, had slain Arni son of Paul barrow-pole, and one of the bodyguard, for that he had slain Audgrim of Agdirness their messmate guiltless. The earl was angry at that. But Ivar outwicked had gone to the deed with them and offered to answer on behalf of the bodyguard. Paul the freeman had come out in the night, and was very ill-pleased at it. In the morning, when the meeting was held, Ivar offered atonement for the manslaughter. But good-man Paul murmurs, and said that Ivar had much better have looked closer after his sailing when he fared from Bjarmaland, and not have lost there the sons of the best yeomen, than have taken the lead in this, to slay the bodyguard of the king and earl and his own messmate, and said that no atonement would be taken from him. And so that meeting was broken up.

103. When earl Skuli had ended his business in Helgeland he held on from the north. And when he



came to Nidaross there had come secret letters from the east from Vermland to Sigurd the Ribbald from some of those Vermlanders who had already sworn oaths of faithfulness to king Hacon, and from some of those who had before served Sigurd, that he should try to get away from the earl's power and come east to them. Erling roomstaff was then his counsellor, who had before been his standard-bearer. They took that counsel that in the morning early on the eve of the vigil of St. Olaf they got mass-vestments from the clerks, and so went out across the fields, and out round Steinbjorg, and up on Gaularass, and hid themselves there a while. When mass had been sung in the town, the earl was told that Sigurd was off and away. Then the earl made men fare on all ways both by ship and on horseback, but he could not be found. The earl made them take Andrew Thorstein's son, a man from Iceland, who had been with Sigurd, a brother's son of Sæmund of Oddi, and said he must know where he was. But he would not tell it. And the earl let him be hanged. He also laid blame on that clerk whose name was Bard, who had lent the capes. Bishop Gudmund was then in the town; and he gave the earl many hard words for cutting off Andrew, for he had been ever with the bishop. Now the earl sent letters to the king, and said that Sigurd had run away in that wise; that he had always before behaved quietly and wisely with him, and said he thought that he would stir up strife. Then the king made them send letters east into the Bay both by the upper and the lower road, and bade men be on the watch.

A.D. 1224.  
Sigurd the  
Ribbald  
and Erling  
roomstaff  
fly from  
the earl  
to the  
Uplands.

The earl  
warns the  
king.

104. Sigurd the Ribbald fared east across the fell, and came into Eastdale. Then there came to meet him many of his men according as it had been agreed on before; and he raised a band and set up his standard, and so fared east into Vermland. Then much force gathered to him. These captains of bands

Sigurd the  
Ribbald  
crosses  
into  
Werm-  
land.

A.D. 1224. came to him in Vermland: Thord the eastman, Eric the lazy, Oddr his son, Halvard slippery, Thorbjorn stiff and Thorgeir stiff. They were in all twelve captains of bands, and they had all many men. Then also came to meet him Harold of Skotun, Alf Styr's son, and Gjardar his brother, and Amundi of Fola-field, with much people. The Vermlanders received all who came thither and gave him themselves much strength and all help to the utmost of their power.

The raid  
of the  
Verm-  
landers.

After that they began their march into Norway and came out in Romarick. They came unawares on Olaf drowsy the king's kinsman in that estate which is called Skaun. He was at a bridal at that farm which is called Leorin. They took the house over his head and shut him up inside. Olaf had a great and good band of followers, men of the king's bodyguard and guests and many other good men. The Ribbalds offered Olaf peace, but to no one else; but he said he would not take peace in that way unless they had all peace. They agreed to that with him. Afterwards, when Olaf came out, then they seized him and held him, but slew every one of his men as they came out. There fell sixty men, and twenty of the bodyguard.

So sang Sturla:—

The fearful fire of battle raiser,  
Who wished to crush the thanes at once,  
Stole from before the king's law-father,  
Out of Drontheim to the fells.  
Afterwards he, Erling's kinsman,  
Swept the Uplands all with fire,  
With the sword he scourged the people,  
From the Ribbalds ill they got.

The Ribbalds bade Olaf swear an oath to them, that he would never be against them, else they would slay him. He swore the oath, but yet said that it would not be a fair oath. As soon as ever Olaf got away men gathered to him; he got again a second time a great band and a good one, and fell on the

Ribbalds, and slew some men of them. But because A.D. 1224.  
 the Ribbalds had kinsmen in every house in Romarick They slay  
 then they were soon aware where he was, and they Olaf  
 came unawares on Olaf. Olaf got out of the house, drowsy.  
 and fell there a little way from the house. They  
 slew almost all his followers which he had then  
 newly gotten.

105. These men had the stewardship in Heidmark The men  
 on behalf of king Hacon: Ivar of Skedjahof and of Heid-  
 Frederick the slobberer. The men of Hein showed mark with-  
 then great manliness, they sent round the arrow of stand the  
 war, and called on men out of the trithings, and kept Ribbalds  
 watch night and day and made a league of their own bravely.  
 all over the Heidmark stewardship that he should be  
 a traitor to the king who was not up and doing as  
 soon as need called him. They had a hundred men  
 out of every trithing to watch the country. The  
 Ribbalds could never show their faces there; and  
 besides they set out on marches out of their district  
 against the Ribbalds east in Vermland, and out into  
 Romarick, and made it far too hot for them.

106. King Hacon and earl Skuli had so agreed  
 between them that the king should hold his bridal  
 in Bergen that same winter, and they were to meet  
 there. The king took steps according as they had  
 spoken before, first as to a Yule feast, and next as  
 to the bridal feast. But the king fared in the autumn  
 east into the Bay, and got hard weather as he sailed The king  
 out of Rotti off Jadar. The king came at sunset sails into  
 into the Selisles. They had a storm of wind; but the Bay.  
 still the king held his ship safe. She was called  
 "Truce-spoiler." As soon as the king came into the  
 haven then he rowed to meet the ships in the after  
 boat. Hacon the wily came first after him, and the  
 king showed him the way into the haven; he had  
 lost most of his shields which were on the forecastle,  
 and the ship leaked much from sailing. The king

A.D. 1224, waited in the sound till all the ships came. In the morning he sailed in round the ness. And when he came to Hornbora sound there before him lay ships of burthen, and told the king that the Ribbalds had come from the east out of Vermland with great force and had slain Olaf the drowsy. That the king thought great scathe; for Olaf was a brave man, and besides a kinsman of the king's, so that his grandmother on the father's side was a daughter of king Harold gilli. Oli the wolf was the name of his father's father, a liegeman in Romarick. The king sailed to Tunsberg, and there Arnbjorn John's son and Simon kine, and other liegemen and stewards out of the Bay came to him. The king told them his purpose, that as soon as he had looked after his business he would go north to Bergen to hold his bridal, according to his agreement with the earl. But they said that so much strife was in the Bay that they would in no wise that he should fare thence, and they said they would go away too at once if he went. They took that counsel that the king sent north goodman Dagfinn and Hacon the wily to say what delayed the king's voyage. Then king Hacon sent his second letter to the Swede-king, and called to his mind what harm he had suffered from the Vermlanders, and bade him not let his enemies be strengthened in his kingdom; and spoke of those treaties which had been made between former kings, that each should drive the other's foes out of his realm.

The king  
hears of  
the Rib-  
balds, and  
sails to  
Tunsberg.

He puts off  
his wed-  
ding and  
stays in  
the Bay.

He writes  
to the king  
of Sweden,  
to Askel  
the law-  
man, and  
complains

107. King Hacon sailed east to the King's Crag. But all the Ribbalds who were then in the Bay ran away up into the Marches. Then it was quiet in the Bay while the king was there. Then came to him Askell the lawman, who had to wife lady Christine the mother of squire Canute. Then the king invited his kinsman Canute to stay with him, and said he would show him great honour if he would be with



him. The lawman took that well, but asked those terms which the king could hardly grant. They spoke much of the strife which the Vermlanders and March-men raised in Norway with the Ribbalds. There were also present liegemen of the king who spoke warmly of the scathe they had got from Vermlanders and Goths, and said it was their hope that the men of Norway would no longer in any case thole this scathe. The lawman answers thus: "That is not my realm or power; but for all that my wish is that ye write east to king Eric by me that he tell his agents that they drive this host out of the land, and lay hard terms on them." King Hacon answers: "We have written twice to king Eric, and the same answers have come back that he would mend matters; but for all that it has never come about; for it is ever worse and worse, and their strength waxes day by day in our struggles, but we have lost many good men by their misdoings." The lawman bade them write a third letter to the Swede-king; and said he would be by when it was read, and add something which was fitting. King Hacon then wrote the letter in this wise, that king Eric should before the 8th day of Yule have driven his foes out of his realm; else, he said, there was no doubt that he would himself avenge this scathe. The lawman promised that he should have true tidings for the king before the 8th day. He was two days with the king at an honourable feast. After that they parted, and the king fared north to Tunsberg, and came home seven nights before Yule, and summoned to him the stewards of Romarick and Hadeland, and those others which were in the Uplands; they came there in a great body.

A.D. 1224.  
of the bad  
faith of  
the Verm-  
landers.

He writes  
again to  
king Eric  
by advice  
of the law-  
man.

108. King Hacon had a great feast at Yule and had these councillors every day to talk to him: Eystein the lawman and Simon of Verwick. Ever and anon came men to the king who laid before him the rob-

The king  
keeps the  
Yule feast  
at Tuns-  
berg.

A.D. 1224. beries and stealings which they had got from the  
 Getting no Ribbalds, Vermlanders, and Marchmen. At Yule came  
 redress, from the east the letters of the Swede-king; and the  
 the king king saw from his letters that he would make little  
 determines to march amends for what the king spoke of. And after that  
 into Verm- the king gave it out that at once after Yule he would  
 land after ride east against the Vermlanders and Ribbalds, and  
 Yule, avenge that scathe which they had done him. He sent  
 December. word also to Arnbjorn John's son that he should come  
 to meet him at Eidawood; but Simon kine and Bard  
 toughstone, and Halvard the downright should come  
 to meet him in the Marches, and all the Bay-dwellers.  
 He summoned to him all the stewards who were in the  
 Uplands. He had every day meetings with his men,  
 and bade them make ready themselves and their  
 weapons. The king sent messengers and messages all  
 over the Fold, that they should find him beasts of  
 burden. But the men of Westfold behaved so manfully  
 that they brought two hundred horses and gave them  
 all to him for goodwill's sake.

The king  
 sets out on  
 his march  
 January  
 1225.

109. King Hacon began his journey out of Tuns-  
 berg three nights after Yule. There were these  
 leaders: Nicholas Paul's son, Gunbjorn the freeman, and  
 Harold stake-foal. But the king placed behind on  
 the "Berg" Olaf Inga's son, Eystein Roar's son, and  
 Onund Brynjolf's son, and two hundred stout men  
 who were the slowest footed. King Hacon went by  
 the outer way from the town in a cutter. This was  
 the eighth winter of his reign. He was three nights  
 on the way in to Howwick. There the horses came  
 to meet him, and there he mounted with all his  
 force and rode up unto the firth called Skialld. As he  
 came under Eikabergskor they came to meet him those  
 who had gone by the upper way, and many of the  
 townsmen from Oslo. Then the king held a meeting  
 of his force, and set a term and gave it out that he  
 would stay no longer in Oslo than two nights. He

bade men be ready by that time. Bishop Nicholas was A.D. 1225.  
 in the town; he had heard the king meant to go <sup>King</sup>  
 east into Vermland after Yule. There was a priest <sup>Hacon's</sup>  
 who had come from the east out of Vermland whose <sup>march into</sup>  
 name was John. The bishop let him be called to <sup>Vermland.</sup>  
 him, and tells him so that king Hacon meant to  
 fare east with all the Norwegian host, and burn both  
 women and bairns, but the priests should be laid on  
 ladders and flogged. The priest now fared away  
 quickly and tells these tidings wherever he came.  
 He fared two days out of Norway into Vermland,  
 and this news went before the king. King Hacon  
 sent Harold stakefoal on his behalf to the bishop,  
 and the king begged that he might have his living  
 in his house those two nights while he was in the  
 town. The bishop said that they could not be all  
 together, wolves and calves. But still the bishop rode  
 to meet the king, and offered him all honourable  
 things in his power; but the king went into the  
 house of his steward Harold; but every day the  
 bishop sent him food from his house. Dagfinn  
 busked him quickly and fared on Yule Eve out of  
 Bjorgyn and Howwick, and fared with him in to  
 Oslo, and offered him his company unto Vermland.  
 But the king would not have that, but thanked him  
 for the manifold goodwill which he had then as ever  
 shown him with great trouble. The king then spoke  
 of many things, and so as to what plans he had  
 made for his son Sigurd if it were not fated that he  
 should come back to Norway. He had then no other  
 son. They were the children of Konga the young  
 and Cecilia king's daughter.<sup>1</sup>

Then goodman Dagfinn turned back. But when he <sup>Dagfinn's</sup>  
 got east off the Ness ice drifted down on him and <sup>danger.</sup>  
 he had to turn to the mainland; but there were

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<sup>1</sup> The text seems to be corrupt here.

A.D. 1225. Ribbalds to meet him in most farms with great bands. But the Southmen lay in their cogs in great numbers in Sandsound. And when they heard of Dagfinn they let him come to them and kept him well, but laid his ship between the cogs. Isaac in By had the stewardship in Sogn; he had been with the king at Yule, and had got leave to go north; he got into the same ice-drift. But because of the Ribbalds he had no other choice but to turn to the Southmen and they treated him in the best way, and there he laid up his ship and fared up the Bay to Tunsberg. But Dagfinn waited until the ice opened out, and then fared north to Bergen.

King  
Hacon  
starts from  
Oslo.

110. King Hacon fared from Oslo on Monday. He marched up into Romarick, and was the night at Gunnar's of Berg, but the force was round about in the district. The king was the second night at Elf, at the house of a man called Kolbein of Fyri. And about the turn of midnight came men from horse-watching to the king, and said that strife was coming. The king clad himself quickly, and men ran out. But the stars shone bright and men might see far away. The king would not let them blow the horns that it might not seem to men as if there were strife, but still he sent men out on all sides on horses. But some men had ridden from Hadeland, and the horse-watch thought that meant strife. In the morning the king rode with the host east along the river to that farm which is called Ness, a great farm with a church. There came to meet him the stewards of Heidmark, Frederick the slobberer, and Ivar of Skedjuwick with two hundred and fifty men well armed. The day after they marched east with the king to Elf, and the king was at that farm called Straum, but the host around him. Then it was told the king that the Vermlanders had made a great gathering, and had heard all the truth as to his

A false  
alarm.

The king  
marches  
on.



march. Then the king called to him all the captains of bands, and watches were then set and spies sent on. Clement in Holm was in the first guard with eighty men, all horsemen. He kept half a mile from the king. The second guard was nearer, and in that were thirty men; and next there were seven men, so that they could be seen from the farm. The morning after the king marched east unto that district which is called Vingr, and that is two short miles. The king stayed there that night because he thought that some men would come to meet him to offer atonement on behalf of the Vermlanders. That same evening the Ribbalds sprang on some of the king's troops, and slew some men on the king's side.

111. King Hacon called to him all his captains of bands, and settled in which way the host should ride into Vermland; for the tidings went that both the host of the land would withstand him and also the Ribbalds. There were some men who dissuaded him from riding into another king's realm; and said there was a mighty host in Vermland. But if the Swede-king himself withstood them, they said they would stand in great risk. Then king Hacon spoke to the host: "No wantonness draws us to this work. But though Ribbalds and Vermlanders stand against us, then I am in no dread as to their resistance; for we demand our fee and our freedom. And if the Swede-king himself comes against us, then one of two things will happen: either that we shall be soon good friends, or our quarrel will go as God wills. But of a surety we will avenge this scathe which has been done us out of the realm of Sweden without our having any hand in it." This marshalling was made as to the march: that the king's standard should go first; and along with it eighty men, pages and bodyguard, well armed, and all riding; and a running footman followed each

A.D. 1225.  
He hears  
the Vermlanders are  
waiting for  
him and  
sets guards.

The king  
settles the  
order of  
march into  
Vermland  
and makes  
a speech to  
his men.

A.D. 1225. horse. The spies went first, and each of them had two horses. Then next marched two hundred men. But after that sledgemen from the Uplands, and that was six hundred men. But next to them rode Nicholas Paul's son and Harold Stakefoal, and they had three hundred riding men. Next to them came all the sledgemen from the other side of the lakes, more than eight hundred men. Last rode Lodin Gunni's son and Erling tunchorn, Harold Veseti's son, Gunnolf the white, and Guttorm Erlend's son, and they had five hundred men. Then this order was made that the riding men marched first, and then the sledgemen. If strife came against them, then the riding men were to hold their own while the sledgemen took to their arms, each of the bodies of sledgemen were to help the other if an onslaught were made on it, those who went before and those who went behind. King Hacon had in Vermland five hundred and twenty picked men, and well nigh five hundred armed men. There was also a crowd of grooms, for a great part of the host had two or three horses to a man, and a groom followed each horse. Still the host seemed much more than it was, for the sake of the sledges. But though the ice was two miles long on one of the lakes, still the further end of the host was off the ice before the other came on it.

The mid-  
night  
march.

112. In the evening when the captains of bands parted from the king it was so laid down that all should have done their meal by midnight. Then the king let the horns blow ; and then the host set out after the array which was already purposed. The night was windy and very cold. Towards day the king sent men on to the middle of the wood. There was a great room for a shelter for travellers by the church. He bade them make great fires there in the yard. It was just about the same time that the day broke and the king came to the fires ; and there men warmed them-

selves awhile; for most of them were somewhat<sup>A.D. 1225.</sup> frozen on the feet or hands or face. King Hacon<sup>23rd and 24th of January.</sup> rode thence before it was quite light with all the host. Eidawood is twelve miles long, and a church is in the middle of the wood. It is a good smooth road when the ice lies. When the king came out of the wood into Vermland then his spies came to<sup>The king marches into Vermland.</sup> meet him, and say that there was no gathering before him in the land, and that all the folk had fled away before him into woods out of the tilled land. The Ribbalds too were all away. Then the host moved to those farms which are called Morastir—that is northernmost in the land—there all the folk were at home. Then the king waited till the whole host came up; and that was about nones. Then the king spoke to the captains of bands, and afterwards the horns blew for a meeting, and the king gave out his plans before the host, that he would march in peace with all the freemen in the land, if they would come into his power, and leave their cause to his mercy. “And for that,” he says, “that our foes are nowhere before us, then we will not fare hotly anywhere; but know if the landfolk will come to make amends to us.”

113. The king stayed there a little while, and gave peace to all men there. But the haystacks were consumed by the horses. He rode that evening to that district which is called Eidr, and was the night at a farm called Middleby which Oddi Eric's son owned. That was the Friday before Septuagesima Fast. The king had many captains of bands at his bidding in the evening, for he had had plenty of wine from the north with him, but it was not carried any further for the frost's sake. Then that event happened in the night that all the barrels were thrown out in the yard, and quite a third of each was frozen. The grooms took the barrels for their own and broke them asunder. After that they took the icicles and<sup>The king's wine frozen.</sup>

A.D. 1225. melted them, but some they ate. From this they  
 The got drunk, so that they fought in the night and  
 grooms fourteen men were wounded, but many beaten. And  
 take the it was only in the morning that the king got men,  
 frozen and made matters up between them. The stewards  
 wine and wanted to follow the matter up against them, but  
 get drunk and fight. the king forgave it to them.

114. On Saturday all the captains of bands came to the king. And the host was then very eager and wanted to burn the country; but the king put it off, and thought that the freemen would come to him and beg mercy, and offer amends. But when he thought this hope was gone, then men took and burned all the tilled land as they marched. But so carefully had all men gone out of the district, that no man was found at any farm. So sang Sturla:—

Treason was not lightly ransomed  
 Ganst the monarch on the East-mark  
 When the ruler once let loose  
 The tree-devourer fed on ash.

Hound of wood, with blazing jaw,  
 Swallowed every house in Vermland;  
 And the fierce dog of the fallows  
 Rushed howling at each gate of garth.

So says Olaf white-skald:—

War-gale wielder! Verms their treason  
 Ye paid back with fiercest flames;  
 High, O king! you raised the fire,  
 Flames rushed o'er abodes of men;

Then what time the fire was kindled,  
 Farmers torments sore befell;  
 Thus O noble sword-storm raiser  
 You punished then their traitor guile.

All the  
 men fly,  
 leaving  
 one old  
 carline be-  
 hind them.

Near some lake one old carline ran out and asked  
 "Where is the king of the Northmen?" She was told.  
 She went boldly up to him, and begged that he  
 would not let the farm of her daughter be burnt be-  
 cause she alone dared to stay at home. The king  
 said so it should be. And called to him that guest  
 whose name was John the poor and three others,



and bade them stay there till all the rest had passed A.D. 1225. by; and says that everything there should be in peace, because this woman alone would ask mercy of him of all the Vermlanders; and he bade her go after her household and have them home with her, and tell them thus, that more farms would have been unburnt if any men had come to find him to beg for mercy.

115. After that men come to the king and say that the Vermlanders had felled the woods before him a little way from that church which is called New-church. Then the king sent on a hundred riding men and bowmen. But when they came to the barricade there were few men to man it, and they ran away at once. Then the barricade was hewn down with pole axes; but the king made them watch meanwhile that no attack was made on the rear. But most of those who rode first with the king came quickly over the barricade. But after that men led their horses at their leisure over it where it was thinnest. It was told to the host that marched last that the king was in front of the barricade fighting with the Vermlanders. Then the host rushed furiously on to the barricade, and from that a great crash arose as the sledges were broken. But when the king heard the uproar then they thought that it must be strife, and they turned back as fast as they could, and were near coming to great danger before men knew one another. Then they marched into that district out in the land which is called Arwick.

116. The king came thither early in the evening and the folk who followed him. And when he had taken off his clothes a war blast was blown, and it was said that the Vermlanders were come and were fighting with the force in the wood. The king sprang up and that part of the host which followed him, and they rode back. Then all the host came to meet

The king grants her peace and spares her farm.

A barricade in the woods which is soon taken.

Another false alarm.

A.D. 1225. them, and had not heard anything of an attack. But they were ready to die with fear who had spread this about. Then men fared to their booths, as was meant. Before day six men came to the king from that district which is called Strand. His name was Geir who was at their head. They begged mercy of the king and laid everything into his power. The king granted them peace. And gave them that mark upon all those homesteads which were in that district, that they should take a good tall pole and bind on it white cloth and raise it on that building which was highest in the homestead, and then all would know by that that peace was granted to that homestead. But in that district were no more than fourteen homesteads. But still many other farmers made the same mark and all got peace.

Six men  
come in  
and the  
king grants  
them  
peace.

From  
others he  
takes hos-  
tages.

The king  
turns back  
on his  
march  
home.

117. After that king Hacon rode with the whole host out into Vermland, and all was burnt wherever they went. But nowhere were men at home in the country. They marched as far as that district which is called Glada-force and burned it. As the king was at that homestead called Knoll, then farmers came to him and begged mercy on behalf of the landsmen, and offered to lay everything in the king's power. But because the Ribbalds had been no further into the land than there, then king Hacon took amends from them, and they gave him eight hostages, who went home with the king to Norway. King Hacon turned back on his march home, and was the night at Strond in the house of Gil the farmer, where it was unburnt. So say the Vermlanders that there rests a holy man whose name is Thorgeir. The king marched thence next morning. And then they burnt as they marched, for no men came there to beg for mercy. The night after the king was by the Keel, at that place called Saurwick; and marched next morning into that district which is called Holmdale. But before they got there a gathering had been made

against them where the way was narrowest and the woods thickest, and men shot at one another there a while. Then the Northmen jumped off their horses and at them into the wood. But the Vermlanders took themselves off, and because of that their lot was harder than the lot of those who had made no resistance. And they took such pains to burn the land that there was not a cot standing behind them. That district was much filled with Ribbalds, and most of the farmers had gone over into Sigurd's hand. So sang Sturla :—

The steaming fire played 'gainst the sky  
 The wainscot of the hall a-blaze  
 I ween the thanes in terror thought  
 That forest-bane, the fire, spread fast.  
 All the tribes in Vermland trembled  
 At the just anger of the prince.  
 The king that faithful ring-bestower  
 Reddened bright his burnished brand.

When king Hacon rode into West Holmdale, then there came to meet him both priests and farmers, and begged mercy. Then the king made them blow the horns for all the force on the ice of a lake. Then the king gave it out that men should stop burning, and laid loss of life and limb on everyone who broke his order. That night the king was in West Holmdale at the house of a priest, in good cheer. But there was nothing to drink but bland; nor did they get strong drink anywhere in Vermland, but there was no lack of slaughtered meat, for the cattle were no where driven away. Next morning the king marched west to the wood; and came at mid-day into his kingdom, and was the night in that district which is called Ansmark in the Borg-stewardship, at that homestead which is called Folkinsberg; there he had good things enough and to spare with all good will.

118. Arnbjorn John's son had four hundred men, and meant to meet the king at Eidawood, as plans had

A.D. 1225.  
 A struggle  
 in the  
 woods,  
 after which  
 the land  
 was burnt  
 and not a  
 cot left  
 standing.

The priests  
 and far-  
 mers pray  
 for mercy,  
 and the  
 king grants  
 them peace  
 and comes  
 into his  
 kingdom.

A.D. 1225. been made. But as he marched east of the wood, he came on the track of the Ribbalds, and turned at once after them; but they marched the shortest way out to Oslo. And when they came thither there were no Birchshanks in the town, and for that they did not stay there, but turned out by the western road to Tunsberg. Arnbjorn came in the evening to Oslo, but the Ribbalds had gone away in the morning. There came to meet him Arnbjorn? with a hundred men well armed; but he sent back another hundred of his men who were most lacking.

Bishop  
Nicholas  
beguiles  
Arnbjorn  
to stay in  
the town.

Bishop Nicholas was Arnbjorn's foster-father and dear friend. The bishop delayed Arnbjorn long that day, and said he had much good counsel to give him. But most men say that he did that because he wished that the Ribbalds should get off the farthest they could. Arnbjorn was late in getting out of the town, and his men had drunk much, and so he marched only a little way that night. But the Ribbalds hastened on their way as fast as they could. And when they came out into the Lithes, a freeman met them coming from Tunsberg whose name was Reidulf gold-crop. And when he heard of the Ribbalds, then he hasted back as fast as he could, and came at mid-day to Tunsberg. Then the horns were straightway blown, and it was told that strife was to be looked for. Olaf and his men had two hundred and fifty men on the Berg. The words of Reidulf were scarcely believed, and so the least heed was given to them. At Paul's-mass-eve the Ribbalds came into the town. Eystein Roar's son had hard work to get up on the hill. And when he got as far as the ridge, then they slew a page of the king, whose name was Runolf. There fell too Grim the white; and still more of the king's men were slain here and there in the town. Fourteen men fell. Kettle post was the name of one of the body-guard, and Eilif dwarf; he was a guest. They

The Rib-  
balds come  
to Tuns-  
berg and  
ransack  
the town.



were in a loft-room. They defended themselves well A.D. 1225. and manfully all the night, so that it was scarcely ever heard that two men have defended themselves better. But the Ribbalds broke through the roof over their heads, and thrust in at them with spears; and there they fell like brave men.

119. In the night when the Ribbalds had ransacked the town, they went under the Berg north, and burnt there the king's ships, a good twenty-bencher and "Truce-spoiler"; and in all they burnt sixteen ships. They slew two chapmen without a cause. As soon as day came they went away and west on the Fold. They took the king's war dues wherever they were, and robbed farmers and chapmen wherever they came. That day at mid-day Arnbjorn came into the town; it was then told him that he would not catch the Ribbalds that time. Then he turned east back to Valdis-holm with all his company.

120. Simon kine and Halvard downright had marched up on to the Marches with six hundred men after the king's command. And when they got there the king had marched north. Then they turned back. King Hacon turned in by the shortest way from Folkinsberg to Oslo. And rather late in the evening men came out of Tunsberg and tell those tidings which had happened there. The king was the night in the district which is called Leirheims-wood. But in the morning after he fared out to Oslo, and had there a meeting with the captains of bands and spoke thus: "I have heard that the Ribbalds mean to turn up  
"on to Heidmark against that gathering which the  
"freemen have there. Now I will divide the host  
"into trithings. Lodin Gunni's son and Gunnbjorn  
"and the Uplanders shall have one trithing and turn  
"up into Romarick after the Ribbalds, if they have  
"turned up to Heidmark or thence east. But if they  
"have not come to Hadeland then ye shall turn west

King Hacon comes to Oslo and hears the news.

He divides his force into three parts.

A.D. 1225. " to Asa-wood against them, and out along Hadeland ;  
 " but I will march with the second trithing up into  
 " Hakadale, and the shortest way into Hadeland.  
 " These captains of bands shall follow me : Nicholas  
 " Paul's son, Harold stakefoal, Frederick slobberer ;  
 " but Eric sound-horn and Clement of Holm and  
 " Harold Veseti's son and the men summoned from  
 " Fold shall march as quickly as they can to Tunsberg,  
 " but no farther unless they hear something of the  
 " Ribbalds."

The king  
 hunts for  
 the Rib-  
 balds up  
 the country  
 and can-  
 not find  
 them.

121. Those liegemen who marched up into the land heard that the Ribbalds had not marched up, and so they turned west to Asa-wood, and had a rough way, and lay out at nights, for the wood was not cleared away. And when they got out of the wood the stewards turned up on to Heidmark ; but the lawmen and Gunnbjorn took the shortest way out after the king. When the king came out into Hakadale there came spies to meet him, and say that the Ribbalds had gone away from Westfold and up into Ringarick ; but after that they knew not whither they had turned. The king let it be told to all the captains of bands that they should be ready to start at dawn. And so it was. The king came early into Updale. But when he came into Hadeland he heard that the Ribbalds had not gone up thither. Then he turned back out along the tilled lands. He was the night at a place which is called Grattagref. He sent Ogmund Olmod's son out into the country to spy with eleven men, and they had good horses. In the evening when men were busking them he who was at the louvre and held watch said that the spies were running back to the farm, and they say that there was strife. Those who at first ran to arms had run in the bolt to the door, and so the getting out was slow. There was much snow, and the king bade men to turn to a height and tread them a path until the bands which were

He sends  
 out Og-  
 mund as a  
 spy,

round about in the district came to him. Then came Ogmund to the king and said he had met the Ribbalds as they were going out, but he did not know how strong they were. The king spoke angrily to his spies that they had fled before it was needed, when they knew no true tidings to tell. And other spies were sent out and stronger with Ogmund. He said this when he parted from the king, "God let me so come back that I know one Ribbald, or else that he knows me."

A.D. 1225.  
and scolds  
him, and  
sends out  
others with  
him.

122. When the Ribbalds fared from Westfold they took the shortest way to the Uplands, and came at Ringarick and made as straight as they could for the Birchshanks; but neither side had true news of the other before these spies had set out of whom was now spoken. The Ribbald spies had turned back, and say that they had seen armed men, but could not tell how many they were. Then Sigurd sent Erling room-staff to spy with six men. He rode up into the tilled land and heard that the Birchshanks had come into Hadeland, very many of them, but then Erling turned back to Sigurd. He was at that homestead which is called Sotrangr. He told the Ribbalds that king Hacon was in Hadeland, "and that is why the spies have been pushed so far to-night, because he was near." Then Sigurd let them send word into the district and let his men be called together. They were that night on a "how" and had bad lodging. He sent five men who knew the country best a-spying, and they met Ogmund and his fellows at that homestead which is called Jafnakr. That was at the beginning of dawn. All the spies of the Ribbalds fell there by the church-yard.

Ogmund  
falls on  
the Rib-  
balds'  
spies, and  
he and his  
fellows kill  
them all.

123. King Hacon rode at daybreak from the homestead with all his force; then he met Ogmund; he was then with another man. The king asked if he knew anything of the Ribbalds. He says he has

When the  
king asked  
if he knew  
anything  
of the Rib-  
balds,

A.D. 1225. seen their spies by the churchyard. "And now you he answered he " will soon find them if you ride hard." The way he had seen lay close to the yard, and there lay the Ribbalds the spies slain. Ogmund said to the king: "Here news of the by the churchyard " Ribbalds awaits you now." The king says he has and showed him them done his duty well. The Birchshanks then thought they had a good chance of being able to find the dead. Ribbalds, for they knew clearly where they had been The king thanked that night. And then they fared furiously. The him. Ribbalds had arisen in the night, and turned down to lake Tyri; and they were off and away when the king came to where they had been. Then the Birchshanks turned after their track and fare hard. But when they came to the lake the Ribbalds were faring off the ice, and making west for the Dale. Then the king rode as fast as he could after them, for it was not far between them. There was much snow, and the way so narrow that more than two men could not ride abreast. Those Ribbalds who were last had thrown away both their clothes and arms. They knew all the ways up in the Dale and turned first thither where it was the hardest travelling and narrowest ways. And when they got on a high bank so that they could see the Birchshanks on the ice, then they consulted whether they should go up into Tellemarken, or up into Haddingdale and so up to Valders, and that they chose of the two, for then they thought they would be able to turn north in Sogn to the sea or east into Eastdale. They fared as fast as they could.

The Ribbalds fled up into the fells,

and the king turned back to Tunsberg,

124. King Hacon halted his men when he came to the bottom by the lake. The force was reviewed, and was not more than two hundred without lads. Then the king had a talk with his men, and most of them were against his going any farther, for their riding horses were much travel-worn. The king turned out by Modheim the nearest way to Tunsberg. Then again



force flocked to him. The Uplanders were eager that he should fare up into Heidmark, and guard that strength that was there, for the men of Hein had held together so manfully that the Ribbalds could never get any footing there. Some were eager that the king should fare out into the Bay and make ready ships there. But those who had followed the king from the north bade him fare out to Tunsberg and make good those ships which were burnt; and then fare north, and there get him a force of ships. Then too came men out of Tunsberg who say that letters had come from the north from earl Skuli. And on this the king turned out thither.

The earl's letters which he sent from the north to the king were to this purport, that he did not think all those agreements had been kept with him, as the king did not sit in Bergen at Yule; but he had fared from the north according as it was agreed, that the king might hold his bridal after Yule. The earl also added that he would wait for the king till Easter. But if he did not come then he should think faith were not kept with him; he would then do as he liked, whether he kept any faith or none. All the king's friends bade him keep all faith so far as he was concerned. And for that they were against his march up the country. There were such fields of ice that no man remembered aught like it. And though men climbed the highest fells, then they could see never a gap in the ice; but they saw many ships frozen in the ice, both cogs and other ships. And men left their ships south in the Bay, and were on the way two days, or a day and a half, and saw no break in the ice all the way from their ships. Many ships were lost in the spring, so that they were never heard of.

125. King Hacon sent Gauti the priest east into Vætta hundred to take his dues in kind; and he rode east over the Fold the nearest way with his

A.D. 1225.  
where  
letters from  
earl Skuli  
awaited  
him.

Earl Skuli  
wrote that  
he had  
expected  
him at  
Bergen at  
Yule to  
marry his  
daughter.

A.D. 1225. orders. But within a few nights he came riding back with three hundred horses, and that was seven nights after Mid-Lent, and then the ice was still firm all over the Fold. Then the king made them set about mending the ships that were burnt, "the Truce-spoiler" and some more that were to be mended. That ship which was called "the Ox" stood up in that dock which is northernmost under the Berg by the Dane-ridge. That the Birchshanks had guarded, so that she was not burnt, and so well is that dock planned that ships could be saved from fire from off the Berg.

The winter was so hard that there was no getting to Bergen, and the king stayed in Tunsberg, and rebuilt his ships.

126. When Sigurd the Ribbald heard that the king had set down on the Berg, he summoned to him all his force. But the freemen in Heidmark lay in a gathering, and guarded themselves well and manfully; but the Ribbalds laid in wait for them all the more. But after that king Hacon had chased the Ribbalds out of Ringarick, it was sometime that nothing was heard of them, and then the freemen broke up the gathering, but still they kept watch over the district. It is said there were some men who were so unfaithful to the freemen, and such little friends of the king, that they sent word to the Ribbalds secretly. And then they fared from Romarick with all the host, and came up into Heidmark into that district which is called Skaun after midnight. But that district was filled with churches and good homesteads. But as soon as ever the watchmen were ware of it then they rang the war-bell at the mother church at Stöng. But because the Ribbalds had got into the midst of the district, then it was ill gathering the force together; for they slew whomsoever wished to run to the gathering. They burned two great homesteads, Ottastead and Hverf; and two king's men dwelt there who had most sway over the freemen. But when the freemen saw the burning then some of them turned

The Ribbalds appear in Romarick and Heidmark and burn farms and slay men.

thither and some to the gathering. But the Ribbalds A.D. 1225. rode up and down the country, and slew every man they could reach. But there where the stewards were, and where there some show of a meeting, then they rode thither where they saw most Ribbalds. But that man bore the standard of the freemen whose name was John sandgoat, a bold man; he rode so hard that he fell before the force came together, and more men with him. But when the freemen saw the fall of their men they made away, and every man looked out for himself. The Ribbalds chased the flyers, and slew every one that they could. But as soon as the stewards came further north into the district then they send round the arrow of war for a new struggle. But then it fared as is said that "it is ill-stopping flying folk." Some twice or thrice the freemen gathered together, but as soon as ever they saw any crowd of the Ribbalds they made off. The Ribbalds were all the more daring when they saw the freemen more afraid. After that the Birchshanks looked out for themselves. But bishop Halvard then went to the Ribbalds, and took peace from them on behalf of the freemen. But the king's men went across the lake and out round Thotn, and so to Tunsberg. Ivar of Skedjuhof and Thorgeir bishop's man told the king those tidings that had happened. The king liked that very ill. They bade the king fare up to Heidmark against the Ribbalds. But then as before the same men spoke against it before the king, and bade him fare north according to his agreement with the earl.

127. The Ribbalds took the goods of those men who had fallen, but laid great fines on the freemen, but they came to terms in that fashion. Then the Ribbalds fared out into the Bay in rather a daring way. Some bands came so near the towns that there was not more than a mile between them. When the

The Ribbalds get the better of the Birchshanks in Heidmark.

The Ribbalds come down the country near to the towns.

A.D. 1225. king heard that then he named nine bands out of the town to fall on the Ribbalds, and these were the leaders over them: Gunbjorn, Harold stakefoal, Ivar of Skedjuhof, Guttorm Erling's son, and Isaack of By. They found the Ribbalds in Oslo hundred at that farm which is called Angleysa. There arose a battle and the Birchshanks got the victory. But there fell Nicholas Reidar's-brother, the greatest man of the Ribbalds, and one hundred and twenty men with him. After that the Ribbalds did not dare to come so near the town of Tunsberg as they had done before.

The Ribbalds are defeated near Oslo.

In Easter week king Hacon sails to Bergen to his wedding.

128. On Thursday in Easter week the king let his ships be drawn across the ness outside Skelja-stone, and afterwards out into Houndsound. The ice was then still firm; but the sea-ice had parted, and all the sound outside. After Easter week king Hacon sailed north to Bergen, and was five nights on the way. Earl Skuli was in Bergen waiting for him, and greeted the king well. Then they set to work to prepare the bridal of king Hacon and the lady Margaret, and the liegemen and the best yeomen all over Gula-Thing were bidden. There came too many learned clerks. The bridal was set for Trinity Sunday, and lasted five nights with an honourable feast, as was intended. The king treated all the men in the Yule-hall; but the queen was up in the Summer-hall, and the women with her; but the cloister-men (monks) were all by themselves in one room, and five abbots were over that company.

129. Before the bridal the king sent ninety-six men up into Valders; and these were their leaders: Alf stand-cattle, Gunnar willing, and Klement long. That was done because they should keep watch while the bridal was, so that the Ribbalds made them no uproar. But when they came to Valders, there they found some bands of Ribbalds; and the Birchshanks



fell on them at once, and fought with them. There A.D. 1225.  
 fell many Ribbalds, and two of their leaders; the  
 one's name was Ulf sharpeye, but the other's Thord  
 rough. After that the Birchshanks turned north into The Birch-  
 Gudbrandsdale. Then onslaughts still arose between shanks  
 them and the Ribbalds, and the Birchshanks had defeat the  
 most often the better. But they lost one of the Ribbalds  
 leaders, Gunnar willing. in Valders.

130. King Hacon and earl Skuli were long in the  
 summer at Bergen. Then the king let the levy be  
 called out, both of men and meat over all the Gula-  
 Thing. After that he busked him east into the Bay, King Ha-  
 and had sixty ships, but earl Skuli turned north to con sails to  
 Drontheim. Then plans were so laid that the earl the Bay.  
 as soon as he came north should march by land up  
 the country, and meet the king up by Mjösen. But  
 he of them which came first should set about ship-  
 building. When the king was sailing off Jadar there  
 came a buss from England, on which was John steel;  
 he had gone to the wake of saint Thomas the  
 archbishop. They sailed near the king's ship. The  
 king asked after the archbishop; but they said he  
 was in England, and "boun" for Norway. The king  
 asked who the archbishop was. "He whom ye  
 "wish, lord," answers John, "Peter of House-  
 "steads." The king thanked God for that. In  
 the evening when the king came into harbour he  
 wrote letters back to meet the archbishop whenever  
 he might make the land that he should be welcome  
 to God and also to him. When the king sailed in  
 off Lidandisness there came to meet him Frederick  
 slobberer, and told him that the Ribbalds were wide-  
 spread in the districts there, and did much harm,  
 both to the king and the farmers. Then the king  
 turned off to the inland waters and sent a light ship  
 in to Marnardale against the Ribbalds. They slew some  
 men of them. After that they fared farther east, and

A.D. 1225. caught here and there men of the Ribbalds. But when the king went on into the Bay it was told him that the Ribbalds were east at Nesjar and in Skid. Then a man held his bridal whose name was Grimar slim. But when the king heard that, then he got on board ship and sailed to Skid against the Ribbalds. But they got word of him, and went away from the homestead in the night; but the king came at dawn. And when he missed them there then he turned out down the firth and sailed in to the Bay and east along Grindholm sound, and thence in to Oslo. On Holy Cross eve he came to Ness-point with sixteen cutters. There he parted his force; seven cutters rowed in under Thrælaberg; at their head was Ivar of Skedjuhof. They landed, and lay the night at Elvinaredge. But at dawn in the morning the king rowed in to the town. The Ribbalds were in the town, and sprang up as soon as they were ware that the cutters came to the gangways. They meant to make their way up the country out of the town. There Ivar and his men came to meet them. Then the Ribbalds ran back into the town; there was then but little struggle. There better than twenty men of the Ribbalds fell, but all the rest got into the churches. The king gave them peace in the morning. So says Sturla in the Hacon's dirge:—

King Ha-  
con defeats  
the Rib-  
balds in  
Oslo.

The mighty thief-crusher dealt out  
At Oslo on a luckless even,  
To the Ribbalds heavy blows,  
Gathered in great companies.  
The warrior, eager for the fray,  
Scattered far the foolish freemen  
Into bye-paths; long was felt  
In that land the Birchshanks power.

At once in the evening the king fared from the town and out to Tunsberg by the shortest way.

131. When bishop Peter came into the land he sent letters to the king which the pope had written for him to bring, that the king should be a friend of the

archbishop. The archbishop also begged the king for his friendship in his letters, and promised in return his friendship with fast faith. At that time came to the king letters from the earl and the Canons in Nidaros, and they said thus in their letters that Peter the traitor had come into the land and had bought the title of archbishop with the goods of the saint king Olaf, and begged the king to seize him like any other traitor to holy church. These same letters the king sent to the archbishop, and along with him his letters, and bade the archbishop wait for him in the king's house, or fare east to him. The king offered himself to follow him north to the see. When the king came north to Tunsberg his great ships came to him from which he had landed; on them were the queen and the king's mother. Then too came to him the liegemen and stewards out of the Bay. Then he busked him as soon as he could in to Oslo. Then came a Dansk priest to the king from Sigurd Ribbald with letters. He challenged the king to a battle-meeting by the lake which is called Drafn. But men thought the king could not sail thither in great ships for the currents. Then the priest says, "He also offered you this choice, that you should sail in to Oslo, and march north to Leira, and he will come thither to fight with you; then it will be the same distance for all to march." The king agreed to that gladly. Then the priest changed his note, and said that the Ribbalds thought it fair that the king should ride up to Eid, but they would come to meet him there, and fight on Eidsfield. The king answers: "We have come further to seek for them, we Birchshanks, when we have sailed from the north from Bergen in our ships, and now have to ride eight miles by land to meet them, but they fare three short furlongs by the water's side. But still, if Sigurd will meet us rather there than in other places, then go as quick as you can, priest, and tell the Ribbalds that they shall be able to see the stan-

A.D. 1225.  
Arch-  
bishop  
Peter ar-  
rives, and  
begs for  
the king's  
friendship.  
Earl Skuli  
and the  
canons in  
Nidaros  
denounce  
the arch-  
bishop as a  
traitor.

Sigurd the  
Ribbald  
challenges  
the king to  
combat.

A.D 1225. "dard of king Hacon on Eidsfield as soon as God grants us time to get there." After that the Birchshanks fared as quickly as they could into Oslo.

The king accepts the challenge.  
Earl Skuli arrives at Hammar, and meets Sigurd, and begins to build ships.

132. Earl Skuli did as he and the king had spoken of between them, in marching up into the land; and with him Gregorius John's son, and Paul barrowpole, Nicholas his son, and Peter of Gizki. The earl had a great and picked force. He had let them hammer many ship-nails, and they were carried in panniers; he had also many shipwrights with him and marched very hard and came to the southern part of Gudbrand's dale. He sent before him one hundred and fifty men. Their leaders were Kolbein cat-back and Ivar outwick. They came to Hammar at midday. There was then Sigurd Ribbald in the bath, and he had hard work to get away on board his ship, but some of his men fell there. Then he rowed out on to the lake and calls to the Birchshanks and asked who was leading the force which had come from the north. "Skuli leads this force," answers the earl. After that Sigurd rows out to the isle where his men were, and sent Erling roomstaff to meet the earl, and there he was well received. And after that Sigurd and the earl met with few men and talked to one another for a while. After that the earl took the ship of the bishop to himself, and all others that he could get. Then too he let them build five ships, which were so big that such like had never before been made in the Uplands, but they were built very much in a hurry.

133. When earl Skuli marched out of Drontheim he sent a gray-monk with letters to king Hacon; and he met the king on the firth when he was sailing in to Oslo. He says that the earl had marched into the Uplands, and bade the king hasten to meet him; and says that the earl would take care that ships should not fail them; he begged though the king to have nails with him, lest there should be any need of



them. Bishop Nicholas was then staying in Oslo, and sent word that he wished to try and make matters up between the Ribbalds and Birchshanks. Then those letters too were found which made the king think that faith had not been thoroughly kept with him by the bishop, according to the terms which he thought had been agreed to him. But the bishop begged the king to be easy with him in that matter. After that the king marched up into the country and all the liegemen with him and all the lightest-footed folk; but Halvard downright and some other captains of bands stayed behind to watch the ships, and they ran all the ships out to Elkness. There were on board the king's ship the queen and the king's mother. The king was the first night at the house of Gunnar on the Berg, but the second at that of Amundi the lawman, in good cheer. In the morning the Birchshanks marched up to Eid. Then spies came to meet them and say that the Ribbalds would be waiting for them on Eidsfield.

134. King Hacon had a speech with his men by a bridge. He gave it out, as was told him, that Sigurd Ribbald meant to fight a battle with him that day. At that all the Birchshanks were glad that that meeting should be as soon as might be. Then they marched as furiously as they could. And when they got up to the church then the whole host ran down along the brink to the river, for they thought that there the host of the Ribbalds would be waiting for them, according as they had themselves offered to king Hacon. But they kept this place of meeting as they had kept others already, that not one of them had come there to meet the Birchshanks. Then the king turned back to the village, and there he parted the host in different houses; he was in the priest's houses. He sent then spies to the farmers up across the lake to tell the earl that the king was come,

A.D. 1225.  
Bishop  
Nicholas  
tries to  
make mat-  
ters up,  
and the  
king sus-  
pects him.

Hemarches  
up to Eid  
to the  
combat,  
but the  
Ribbalds  
and Sigurd  
were not to  
be found.

A.D. 1225. and bade him send ships to meet him with all the haste he could. A little after came messengers from the earl (and) Nicholas cart. They tell the king that there were there with them men of Sigurd Ribbald's bodyguard, Erling roomstaff and Alf Styr's son, and wished to have peace of the Birchshanks for a parley. The king said he had nothing to say to the Ribbalds. Nicholas said it was the counsel of the earl so to draw out the time with the Ribbalds that they might carry out their plans, for the ships would not be "boun" till after four days were spent, then they would be all afloat and "boun" in everything. Then the king agreed that the messengers of the Ribbalds should come in peace to speak with him. They came and spoke out their business and say that Sigurd offered to come to terms and asked a share of the land.

King  
Hacon's  
answer.

King Hacon answered thus: "It cost my grandfather king Sverrir more, and he had more toil than we have yet had, ere he got Norway under him away from his foes; and yet still many tried it on with him after he got sole rule; but he never let there be any question of sharing, but prayed God so to share the land as his mercy thought good. Now you also may speak thus to your lord, that no sharing of the land will pass with us other than God shares. We know not also whether Sigurd is a son of Erling or not. But this we know for certain that he is not a son of king Magnus; and it was all a falsehood that he went about with; as is known to those who now sit by us here, to thee, Arnbjorn John's son, and to thee, Gunnbjorn, and to thee, Simon kine." Arnbjorn said little or nothing, but Simon kine spoke thus: "It is known to no man so well as to me that we did not serve that Erling whom I saw on the stone wall in Vissing-isle; but still this man seemed good

"to me while I was with him." After that they A.D. 1225.  
 threw in some words, Simon kine and the Rib- The king  
 balds. Next to that the Ribbalds offered that refuses the  
 there might be peace that winter, and that they Ribbalds  
 might have the Uplands to hold as a pledge. The terms, and  
 king said nay to that. Then they begged to have says he  
 Heidmark and Romarick till the spring. "If," will wait  
 Sigurd. eight days  
 longer for  
 answers the king, "ye sit in peace this winter then  
 "you will draw to you many a thief and bad fellow,  
 "as you are wont; then it will be harder to thrust  
 "you away than it is now." Then the Ribbalds  
 went down to their ship, but the king sent men  
 with Nicholas cart and they told the earl the con-  
 versation of the king and the Ribbalds. They told  
 the earl that the king would in no wise wait longer  
 on Eidsfield than eight nights and days, but on the  
 ninth day he was to go away, and that was the  
 next (day) after All-Hallows mass.

135. Then the earl sent Nicholas Paul's son to the Earl Skuli  
 king, and said that the ships were boun, but they do sends word  
 not, he says, seem to men very tight and taut. to the king  
 The earl begged that the king would send him some that the  
 force. The king sent to him eight companies and ships are  
 ready.  
 these leaders: Ivar of Skedjuhof and Saxi bladespear.  
 The king sent also men with Nicholas to the earl,  
 and bade him come to him with ships or send him  
 those ships that were ready. When Nicholas came When  
 to the earl he had launched the ships, and they were launched  
 they were  
 so leaky that it was hard to get them to float or unsea-  
 worthy.  
 to pump them out, and they were in no wise fight-  
 worthy. Then the Ribbalds had gone out of the Isle  
 with their ships, and fared hither and thither in  
 river mouths or firths. And when the earl heard  
 that, he fared north to Ringis-acre in his ships, and  
 there some were burnt and some hewn to pieces. The earl  
 But the earl turned north to Drontheim with his returns to  
 Drontheim.

A.D. 1225. host, and no messages came to the king on the earl's part at that time.

King  
Hacon  
marches  
into Hade-  
land.

136. King Hacon waited on Eidsfield, as he and the earl had agreed by word of mouth. He marched away afterwards with all his host, and meant to go out to his ships. But when he came into Romarick it was told him that the Ribbalds had gone out round Thotn with their ships, and so out into Hadeland, and meant to drag their ships into that water which is called Tyri in Ringarick. Now the king turns on his march and fares out by Hakadale and so into Hadeland. The greater part of the force turned down to the ships; some there were who did not-know that the king had turned back, but some had not heart enough in their sarks to follow him. The king was the first night in Hakadale. But in the morning at mid-day he had meat at Gullyn, that is in Hadeland. Then it was told the king that some bands of the Ribbalds were drawing a host together, and that their ships were sailing about. Then the king sent Ivar nosy before him and a force with him, but the king marched slower. And when he came to the farm which is called Brandaby men came to meet him, and say that Ivar had been chased in the wood Kjolveg, and many men slain of his force. A little after came Ivar, and said he had ridden east in the wood a while; "And then came men of the Ribbalds, and I did not know how many they were," said he, "and they marched close together but we split up, for we were not aware that we should be so soon in coming on them. And when we met we could scarcely get out our weapons to defend ourselves, for the wood was thick; and next after that my men ran off into the wood and sheltered themselves with it;

Defeat of  
Ivar.



" but I got my horse turned and some men with me, A.D. 1225.  
 " and we rode back along the way."

137. King Hacon halted the force on a "how" that day, and let the force be reckoned, and then there were no more than three hundred men of those fifteen who had followed him up the country. So as the day wore on they came from the wood who had been chased, and they had thought fallen, and for that the king waited all day. Then it was told him that Sigurd Ribbald would come thither with his host, and for that the king kept the force together during the night. Thorgrim grimy, one of the king's body-guard, came about nightfall and some men with him; and some of them were stripped of their clothing, and some wounded by the Ribbalds. Next morning at dawn the king sent out from him fifty men with horses to spy out the Ribbalds; and they came back at mid-day and said that Sigurd had turned out back to Hadeland, and meant to go up to the Isle<sup>1</sup> with his ships and men. The king thought he understood that it would be nothing worth to run after them up to the lake, especially as he had no ship, and for that he turned up back into Hadeland, and was the day at the house of Bard the provost at Grön in good cheer.

138. Bishop Nicholas was then very sick. He sent word to the king to come to him. The king had found some letters on this march which made him think that the bishop's faith to him was not thorough, and he brought that charge against him. But the bishop owned to that, and begged the king to forgive him. He said he would willingly do that for God's sake. The king thought he understood then how far gone the bishop's strength was. And for that he delayed starting thence till God called him from the world

The king turns down the county to Oslo to see bishop Nicholas.

The king forgives Bishop Nicholas, who dies November.

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<sup>1</sup> The island in the Mjösen Lake.

A.D. 1225. King Hacon followed his body to the grave, and buried him well and worthily as he was bound to do; for bishop Nicholas was a man of the greatest mark and of the most daring of all the learned clerks in Norway. He had come too from the greatest races in the realm of the Swedes and Denmark, and with all that of good family within the land. But though he had been no friend of the Birchshanks, still king Hacon spoke thus, that hardly had there ever been such a man as bishop Nicholas for wordly wit and honour.

The  
bishop's  
character.

King Ha-  
con goes  
east to the  
Elf to see  
Askel the  
lawman.

139. King Hacon fared out of Tunsberg and gave leave home to goodman Dagfinn and Gauti of Mel, and other men from the north of the land; but he busked him east to the Elf. The queen and the king's mother went up on the Berg, and there Gunnbjorn had the leadership while the king was away east. When the king was at the King's Crag there came to meet him Askel the lawman and lady Christine. The lawman says then that king Eric and all the Goths had great complaint against the king of Norway for that march which he made into Vermland. But the king says that it was known to the lawman how often he had begged that the Swede-king should drive those thieves out of his kingdom who every day stole and robbed in the realm of Norway. The lawman said he knew that well, but said this also that the Swede-king was very much of a child. "But he has very few coun-  
" cillors who are thoroughly true to him; had they  
" given him good counsel they would have cleansed  
" his land of these bad folk." The lawman was the guest of the king; and all things went in a friendly way with them at that time. Then were many old Crozier-men with king Hacon: Lodin Gunni's son, Simon kine, Halvard downright. The king made fun out of that that he mocked them because they had not served the right king's son when they were with Erling stonewall; and many men shared in this talk. But the lawman

The king  
makes fun  
of the false  
Erling  
stonewall.

listened to them, and spoke to the king afterwards: "Will A.D. 1225.  
 " you, lord king, allow us Goths to have a share in Askel the  
 " the mocking of you Northmen." But they all agreed lawman  
 to that. Then he said: "It does not matter much to utters his  
 " me as to your mocking or as to what happens in belief as to  
 " Norway, but I will not utter an untruth as to the false  
 " what I know. It is unknown to me whether this Erling  
 " Erling were a son of king Magnus whom the Crozier- stonewall.  
 " men served; but that I know of a truth that he  
 " was not that Erling who sat in the stonewall with  
 " us in Vissings-isle; but so we say that that man  
 " was a son of king Magnus. And I think from that  
 " that ye have served the wrong man when this man  
 " gave himself his name and surname. But thou must  
 " know this, Simon kine, for thou wert at close quarters  
 " with him inside." Then the king spoke to Simon:  
 " "Say now, Simon, what you know to be truest before  
 " God in this matter." "I know," says Simon, "before  
 " God that this is known to me, for I sat in the stonewall  
 " with Erling, and this was not that Erling. But we  
 " served him because we wished to get some one  
 " who would stand fast against the Birchshanks."  
 The king took this to witness of those men who were  
 by that Simon owned with what falsehoods they had  
 gone about, and all those who afterwards served the  
 offspring of this Erling.

King Hacon and Askel lawman parted with great King Ha-  
 love, and each gave the other honourable gifts. Then con keeps  
 the king asked his kinsman squire Canute to go with Yule at  
 him to Norway, and promised him there great honours Tunsberg.  
 for his father's sake and their kinship. But his  
 mother had her way that he should not go. After  
 that the king went north to Tunsberg, and came there  
 Yule eve, and sat through Yule on the Berg. This  
 was the ninth winter of his reign. After Yule the king  
 fared out of Tunsberg north to Bergen to gather  
 force, for the Ribbalds were then growing very strong

A.D. 1226. in the Bay and the Uplands. The king left behind  
 The king starts by sea to Bergen to gather force. Gunnbjorn on the Berg with a hundred men. The king put out to sea by the eastern passage, for all the sounds were frozen. He lay seven nights in Hvalar. Then came Gunnbjorn to the king, and said men would not sit on the Berg, those whom he had named for the duty. Then the king fared back by the upper road to the town; and had a talk with his men, and laid great penalties on them if they gave up the Berg. After that he went back to his ships. That event happened in Tunsberg, that a mast was to be raised on board the king's ship. And when it was raised the mast began to fall forward on to the stem out of the mast-step. The king stood under the mast while it was tottering; and a man took him by the belt and dragged him out to the side. God wrought there great miracles, for no man took harm, but many were under the mast, but the cause of it was that there was ice in the mast-step.

The king is nearly lost on the voyage.

141. When the king sailed through Eikesund he wished to put into shore; but men spoke against it and said there would be no lack of daylight off Jadar. The king still said he was unwilling to sail; he said he had so dreamt, as though something would befall them ere they came home to Bergen. But still they sailed with a fair breeze off Jadar, and came into Rott in the evening. In the morning the south-east wind was sharp when they took to sailing. They had seven long-ships. And when they passed Freckeyarsound then it blew so hard that it was hardly possible to sail the king's ship; the sail was thrown forward on the anchor-fluke, and the sail was rent that it all fell down into the ship. But the ship drove into the breakers. Then men who were aboard of her made great vows; but no one thought that he would escape; those who sat by (on shore) thought that every soul must be lost. But then God showed great



tokens; for while they were nearing the breakers A.D. 1226.  
 the ship drifted very fast, and so she drifted after Spring.  
 the breakers were passed; but while the ship ran  
 alongside the breakers she did not drift an inch. The  
 king ran into the haven in the isle of Aum with  
 great difficulty. The boat was stoven in, but the sail  
 rent, and all over her something had given way. Then  
 the king sailed north to Bergen, and then summoned  
 to him his liegemen out of Gula-Thing, and told  
 them that he would make ready an expedition back  
 east to the Bay. But they say that the freemen  
 could not speedily turn out the levies, both in meat  
 and men. And for that the king waited on into the  
 spring.

142. Sigurd Ribbald sat in the Uplands with great Sigurd the Ribbald has a great force in the Uplands, and writes to earl Skuli and archbishop Peter asking them to arrange a peace and let him have a share of the kingdom.  
 force. He sent letters north to earl Skuli and Peter  
 the archbishop, and begged them to seek for an atone-  
 ment with king Hacon. He asked for a share of the  
 land, and also that meetings for atonement should be  
 fixed between the Ribbalds and the Birchshanks.  
 And when he had sent these letters north, then he  
 summoned to him all his host and went out into  
 the Bay with great force. But when the Birchshanks  
 heard that, those who were in the Bay, then they did  
 not trust themselves to hold out in the Bay against  
 Sigurd, but busked them to hold on north to the  
 king; and almost all of them went away. The king  
 greeted them well. They tell him such tidings as  
 there were. The king got eight ships well manned.  
 Then they turned back east with their force. When  
 Sigurd's letters came north, then they, the archbishop  
 and the earl, sent letters east by the upper way, for  
 they thought that the king would be in the Bay.  
 That was in these letters that king Hacon should  
 take an atonement from Sigurd Ribbald; and the  
 archbishop laid his ban upon every man who raised  
 any strife before the meetings for atonement were

A.D. 1226. tried. These letters came into the hands of the liegemen east of Agdir, and a canon of Nidaros and another of Oslo, and some of the earl's men bore them. When the liegemen had heard the letters, the messengers fared on north to the king, but the liegemen east into the Bay. And when they got to Jarlsisle there was the fairest breeze into Oslo, but the Ribbalds were there in Oslo. The Birchshanks would have won the fairest victory if they had sailed in; but they said they were not willing to be under the ban of the archbishop and the wrath of the earl. But those who were captains of those eight ships which the king had sent from the north would have gone in at the Ribbalds, though they went in alone. But the liegemen hindered them, and would in no wise hear of their going. And so nothing came of their company.

The arch-  
bishop's  
threats  
stayed the  
warfare in  
the Bay.

The king's  
answer  
about  
sharing the  
kingdom  
with Si-  
gurd.

·143. When the letters came to king Hacon it misliked him, and he answered thus: "I will not agree so hastily to this sharing of the land." After that he sent (men) north with letters to the earl and the archbishop which said thus: "Ye wrote to us and threatened us with some hard terms if we were not willing to come to an agreement with Sigurd Ribbald, and yield him up our own inheritance. But that it thinketh us is hard fate to yield a share of the land to those men who are not born to rule in Norway. Now it must come to what you wrote to us in the autumn when ye came back, lord archbishop, that neither were friends of the others, the Canons and all the rest together, and that like would seek like and dastards crawl together." "This saying you may now fulfil, you and your fellows. But as things stand God shall share between me and Sigurd, but not bishops. Erling soundhorn was then with the king; he was in someway akin to archbishop Peter. And when he

heard that, then he answered the king so that all A.D. 1226. the councillors heard it: "It is not wonderful that  
 " the archbishop, my kinsman, should turn a little to  
 " unfaithfulness, for it is the fate of all of us who  
 " are come from the Standale stock to be not  
 " altogether trustworthy."

144. As the spring went on the king called out the The king makes ready for his voyage east. levy and made ready for his voyage east to the Bay. At that time came men from the north with letters from the earl, and say that the earl had taken a bad sickness and received all the offices of the Christian church, and said his strength was in a bad way. But God brought him round though of that sickness. When king Hacon was making ready to sail from Bergen, he rode up to Alreksstead one Sunday as was his wont. Then came there to meet him a man running down very furiously from the fell. The king thought it strange that he fared so furiously, for he knew the man that he was one of the Ribbalds. He had a runic staff, which one of the Ribbalds sent to the king, and it said thus, that Sigurd Ribbald their king was dead, and it bade the king take some quick counsel for himself, that squire Canute his kinsman might not come to strengthen the Ribbalds a second time. He hears of the sudden death of Sigurd at Oslo. The king let letters be sent at once east to his kinsman Canute, and offered him good terms then as before. He hastened then his voyage east into the land, and came after the eve of the Selju-men into the Bay.

145. Sigurd Ribbald breathed his last in Oslo. But The Ribbalds send to Lady Christine to allow squire Canute to put himself at their head. his men kept his death hid, and bore his body up the country, and say he was sick. And in this need they sent men east into Gothland: Harold of Lautyn, Alf Styr's son, and Erling roomstaff to Askell the lawman and lady Christine, and begged them that squire Canute should put himself at the head of their band, and say that the land would lie open to him if he came to take it. Lady Christine believed in these persuasions, and they gave squire Canute into the hands of the Rib-

A.D. 1226. balds, and many bands of Goths and Vermlanders and Marchmen followed him.

Squire  
Canute  
is chosen  
king in  
Romarick.

146. When Canute came to Romarick he let himself be chosen king. And then very much folk gathered to him, as Sturla says :

The warlike band that would not hear  
Of peace, a doughty champion chose  
To fill the place of Sigurd dead,  
The robber leader of that force.  
Steadfast Canute strove to wrestle  
In combat with the mighty king.  
Head-strong, for the men of Gothland  
Hotheaded egged him on to treason.

The free-  
men and  
chiefs  
round the  
Bay are  
unwilling  
to serve a  
foreign  
lord.

The liegemen and Birchshanks who were in the Bay thought after the death of Sigurd that no new strife could arise. But when they heard these tidings they got force together each in his stewardship. All the freemen in the Bay were not willing to come under a foreign lord. Canute fared out to Oslo, and let himself be given the title of king there. These had then the stewardship of Oslo: Guttorm Erlend's son and Clement of Holm; they were away west in the Lithes in their stewardships. When they heard those tidings they gathered to them all the Birchshanks who were in the neighbourhood. The freemen summoned meetings and named men out of each district to march against the Ribbalds in Oslo. These men were at the head of the freemen: Steinrod the priest Thorbjorn truss, and Eric ignar-bank; he bore the standard of the freemen. They went on their way, the Birchshanks and the freemen. But when the Ribbalds heard that, they fared against them, and they met west of Acre on some meadows. And that was the first battle between the Goths and the Northmen. The freemen made a halt when they met, and were hardly willing to march on. When the Birchshanks saw that then they jumped off their horses and went boldly on. The Ribbalds attacked them stoutly, for they had a dashing leader. They fell on



them so fast at first that they slew Eric ignar-bank, A.D. 1226. the standard-bearer of the freemen. Now when the freemen saw the Birchshanks fighting boldly they too jumped off their horses, and backed them as they best could. And sooner than one would think the Ribbalds made off, and a great part of their picked men fell there. There fell almost all the leaders of the bands of the Goths. But Canute got on a horse, and three Ribbalds with him, and fled. He galloped over a certain bridge, and there his horse fell; but he got away in the greatest straits, and fared up the country; for the Ribbalds had then the greatest part of the Uplands, and all the ships on the lakes, both in Mjösen and others. There the Ribbalds filled all the stewardships with their men; for there were no Birchshanks in the Uplands.

Squire  
Canute  
is defeated  
at Acre by  
the Birch-  
shanks,  
and flies  
to the  
Uplands.

147. King Hacon sailed south to the Bay; he had that ship that was called "the Dragon." He sailed away from all his ships. And when he came to Arisles he ran in there. And when the ship was come to her berth he got into a boat and went over to the farm, and asked for news. The goodman answered: "We tell you tidings which you will think good; I had two sons of mine with the Ribbalds, and now they are both fallen; but methinks these tidings are very hard." After that he told king Hacon the whole story of the battle at Acre. The king waited for his ships there, and sailed afterwards in to Oslo.

King  
Hacon  
comes  
south to  
Oslo.

After that king Hacon summoned to him his liegemen and stewards out of the Bay, and went with them up the country, and let them drag thirty-four ships out of the town. After Canute had fled the freemen lay in bodies all over the Oslo stewardship, and guarded themselves like men, and so waited for the king. Arnbjorn John's son and Simon kine dragged thirteen ships up along the Elf. King Hacon was two nights on the way ere he got across the

A.D. 1226. first isthmus up to Stafbjorg. That is two long miles to drag, across moors and woods, before he could come to the water. Then Arnbjorn John's son and Simon kine and Lodin Gunni's son came to meet him. After that they dragged (the ships) well a mile's breadth of an isthmus before they came up into the Elf. The Birchshanks behaved rather unsparingly, and the king had some blame laid to him that he chastised them little. Then he let one of his guests be slain who had behaved worst of all. After that no man heard tell that any harm had been done.

The king's expedition to the Uplands and lake Mjösen. In the morning when the king came to Eid he sent on before him some light ships, and they took there some spies of the Ribbalds up in Mynni, and they slew there seven men. In the evening he marched to the lake with all his host. He had no sure news of where the Ribbalds were, and arranged it so that he himself rowed along the western shore. Those on board the king's ship saw where one ship was rowing, then the Ribbalds ran in to land, but the king took their ship. After that the king had a talk with his force, and begged all men that they should not slay his kinsman Canute though they had the chance, for the sake of his father earl Hacon. When it was light next morning the Birchshanks saw the ships of the Ribbalds rowing against them as hard as they could, and thought they must mean to fight, for they had much bigger ships than the Birchshanks. But as soon as the Ribbalds saw the king's fleet they turned in to land and fled up into the tilled land which is called Hun. But the king took all their ships and stores and much spoil of war. After that the king sailed east to Hammar, and there many Ribbalds lay in their wounds, those who had fought at Acre. The king gave them all peace. After that he summoned the freemen to him, and they all made a league with the king against the Ribbalds. Canute

He takes the Ribbalds ships and offers terms to Canute.

had fled up into Hadeland. The king sent to him A.D. 1226.  
 Gudleik of Ask, his kinsman, and his own marshal But the  
 and the man whose name was Arnthor. He then Ribbalds  
 again offered Canute an atonement and good terms watch  
 if he would put himself into his power. But when Canute.  
 the messengers found Canute, and the Ribbalds were  
 ware that an atonement had been offered to Canute,  
 then they watched him so that he could not get  
 away from them. Then they went back as they  
 came and told the king.

King Hacon after that set things to rights in the The king  
 Uplands, and let all the ships be on Mjösen, and set sends word  
 men to watch them. But then he busked him north to Bergen  
 to Bergen to that meeting which he had fixed with the that he is  
 archbishop and the earl. The king had heard that coming to  
 they were both come to Bergen, and then he sent meet the  
 Thorstein homeness, his standard-bearer, before him earl and  
 north to say that they should await him. Thorstein the arch-  
 was eight nights on the way. And when he came bishop.  
 north then the archbishop and the earl thought they  
 had heard that the king would bring up some letters  
 which he would not think contained entire faithful-  
 ness to him on their part; and so they took this  
 plan, that the archbishop fared home north, but the  
 earl waited for the king. King Hacon held meetings  
 at Oslo and Tunsberg, and all the freemen came into  
 the league with the king against the Ribbalds. After  
 that he sailed north. And when he got to Portyria,  
 then Thorstein homeness came to meet him, and had  
 been three nights on his way from the north, and  
 two in the town; and tells him that the archbishop  
 had promised to await the king ere he and the earl  
 talked it over; but afterwards it was quite another  
 thing, and he made ready to sail as fast as he could.  
 Thorstein said thus, that there were many come from  
 the west across the sea to see the king; and bade  
 him hasten. When the king came to Bergen he

A.D. 1226. found there earl Skuli and earl John of the Orkneys, King Simon, bishop of the Southern Isles, and the abbot Hacon comes to of Enhallow. The king settled first their business Bergen. who had come from the west, and all with the earl's counsel.

Canute flies 148. Lord Canute fled west into the Dales when to Vermland and he ran from his ships on Mjösen. But when he gathers fresh force. he heard that there was a gathering against him in Heidmark and Hadeland, he turned north into Gudbrandsdale, and so into Eastdale, and thence into Vermland. Then there was a fresh raising of force, and after that he turned north to Norway, and came out in the stewardship of Arnbjorn John's son at the places called Skaun and Hegginn, and plundered there. But when the freemen tried to guard their goods, then many good fellows of the freemen fell. Then Arnbjorn sent letters to the king and bade him hasten into the Bay; and said the Ribbalds were getting great strength. When the king heard these tidings he sailed east into the land, but the earl sailed north to Drontheim. When the king came to Tunsberg he set up behind him Erling soundhorn on the Berg to make ready for the Yule feast; but the king sailed in to Oslo, and lay in the night by Jarlsisle.

The Ribbalds take the kings ships on Mjösen, and are again masters of the Uplands. There came to meet the king Thorgeir bishop's man and Frederick slobberer; they had the stewardship in Hadeland; and told these tidings that the Ribbalds had dragged ships from the east across Eida-wood, and got them into Mjösen. But there in the Isle they found the stewards of the Birchshanks, Guttorm bundle, the king's kinsman, and Arni of Hol, set to watch the ships on the lake. They had strong bands of men. The Ribbalds came on them unawares, and slew Guttorm inside the house, but Arni made his way out and fell at Acre. There fell all their followers. After that the Ribbalds took all the ships, both on Mjösen and the other waters. But when the freemen



heard that they gave up the district, and took peace A.D. 1226. of the Ribbalds. Now the Ribbalds seized all the Uplands. (King Hacon sailed that day in to Oslo from Jarlsisle. There were there a crowd of freemen in the town of more than twelve hundred, together with the townsmen. The king had a talk with them; and the freemen said thus, that they had kept up the gathering since they fought at Acre with the Ribbalds, "but now they threaten us with ill-treatment and burn our farms if they do not catch us ourselves. Now we will beg you, lord, to sit here this winter to watch our farms, and we will turn out for you the whole levy, and another at the back of Yule. And if you think you lack aught, then we will give you half our cattle and half of all our stores. But if you will not stay here, then we will take peace of the Ribbalds and come to terms with them." The king thanked them for their offer, but says he would give them his answer when he had spoken with his bodyguard. When the king talked over this with his counsellors then all set their faces against his sitting in Oslo in faith of the freemen; and say that it was an unlucky day for king Sverrir when the freemen marched against him to Oslo. The king tells the freemen that he will spend the winter on the Berg, "but set our liegemen in Oslo to watch your goods." The freemen had a talk among themselves and offered to name hostages for the king out of the parishes, the best of the freemen, if he had any mistrust. Then the king had again a talk with his men, and all begged him not to trust the freemen. Then the king gave his decision; and says that he would take no man's counsel but his own, and he said he would of a surety sit with the freemen, when they offered him such good terms and were willing to lay down their lives and goods for his life. And after that he sent north to Bergen after stores, and also to Tunsberg. The

King  
Hacon  
comes to  
Oslo, and  
the free-  
men beg-  
ged him  
to stay  
there and  
watch  
their  
farms.

The king  
against the  
advice of  
his coun-  
cillors  
decides to  
stay there.

A.D. 1226. king sat in the house of Hacon gryce, but he kept Yule in the bishop's abode. This was the tenth winter of his reign. Arnbjorn John's son sat the winter in Valdisholms to gather news and guard the land.

Canute goes to Gothland, and the king offers peace to the Ribbald chiefs.

149. Lord Canute went east into Gothland, and sat there while the winter was at its height; but set behind him on Mjösen some bands of the Ribbalds, and they drew ships to them over all the Uplands. King Hacon sent in the winter letters secretly into the camp of the Ribbalds to the captains of bands and many others, and offered them peace, if they would come to him. But this peace Erling roomstaff was the first to take; he was a dashing man and well bred. And when he came to see the king he got good peace and good terms. The king sent some bands east into Soleisles to break up the Ribbalds, and in their company was Erling. There they felled forty men of the Ribbalds. After that the king held Erling for a trusty man, and said he had cut his way to be a liegeman. Then another company was sent east into the Bay by the upper road on horses. Simon kine was at the head of it, and had three hundred men; they came east to Befja, and there they found many Ribbalds; but they got news of the Birchshanks and fled away at once, but still the Birchshanks got one or two of their men. Simon went back to the king.

Gudolf of Blakkasteads is slain.

In the summer after the death of Sigurd Ribbald, Gudolf of Blakkasteads parted himself from the band of the Ribbalds, and went home to his farm and watched over his safety in the church near his house. There was a stronghold there. Gudolf had done much mischief there in the district when he was with the Ribbalds. There was a farmer named Otryg whom he had beaten much, and taken from him a good horse; he had two sons, the one called Asolf and the other Gudleif. They got a band of men and fell on Gudolf. They took ladders and set them to the

church and cut through the roof over his head, and sprang in there and slew him. There was little grief among men at Gudolf's death for his wrongfulness. A.D. 1226.

150. In the autumn when king Hacon had settled down in Oslo, earl Skuli sent messengers to Waldemar the Dane-king: Kolbein cat-back and Grundi the treasurer. But as they were sailing home in the winter then they lay in Marstrand for the sake of ice. Lord Canute was then in Marstrand. And when he heard of them then the Ribbalds took a light ship and sailed against them and came on them unawares. There lay many chapmen in the haven, but they would not help them. But they defended themselves well and manfully; and there they both fell, and almost all their crews, with bravery and much hardihood. Earl Skuli sends messengers to king Waldemar.  
  
They are surprised and slain by the Ribbalds.

When king Hacon heard these tidings he let them hew through the ice out from Oslo as far as Slidholm, and they were hard at work for two days. Then he manned and sent out more light ships east to Ljodhouse, and set these men to lead the force: Lodin and Simon kine, Halvard downright, Gunnbjorn, and Olaf Inga's son. But when they reached the spot Canute was off and away, and the main body of his host except a few men. Bjorn pack was the name of the man who was at their head. They sat in the castle north of the town. The Birchshanks beleaguered the castle, and it was soon given up, as soon as they got peace who were inside it. Then the Birchshanks took great spoil, but broke down and burnt the castle. They laid fines on the freemen, and took much money for those men who had been with Canute. After that they went back to the king. So sang Sturla:— King Hacon sends and avenges the messengers and burns the Ribbalds castle.

The wise king broke the castle down  
Which they had built in Ljodhouse strong;  
East away across the Bay,  
A strength on which the chiefs relied.  
Well I know the heavy guerdon  
Which the prince repaid the Goths  
For their raid, the prince's wrath  
O'ertook them, as they might expect.

A.D. 1227. 151. The Ribbalds gathered together in the Uplands and were very strong in men on Mjösen. Then king Hacon let them drag ships from Oslo up to the Elf, and these men were leaders: Ivar of Skedjuhof and Saxi bladespear. But when they got into the Elf, then they manned the ships as they best could, and were on the look-out there. Then the Ribbalds left all the ships in Mjösen; and were most of them gone away from the lake and east on the Marches to meet Canute. The king marched out of Oslo up to Eidfields and held a Thing with the freemen. Then they went into a new league with the king. Then the king turned thence out unto Romarick and east across the Elf; for he had heard it said that Canute had let them drag ships out of Hellisfirth and meant to go up on to the Marches and thence into the Elf. But when he got to the district called Heggin, he was told it was all a lie. Then the king turned back and marched out to Follou, and afterwards into Oslo. That was half a month after Easter. When Canute heard the king had turned back, he let them drag ships out of Hellisfirth by a way which ships had never been dragged before, and got them up on to the Marches, and afterwards north into the Elf and came unawares on Ivar and his men, and drove them from their ships; and they fared afterwards out to Oslo to find king Hacon.

The king drags thirty-five ships into the Elf and up into Eyjalake. 152. When the king heard that he made them drag thirty-five ships out of Oslo and followed them himself. He sent word also to Arnbjorn John's son and other liegemen, that they should drag ships up into the Elf, and should meet the king at Eyjalake. Then they had news of Canute from Lautyn, and of many Ribbalds who were in the district called Skaun. Then the king sent against them some bands. They met at a certain wood. There was a battle and the Ribbalds fled and lost fifty men, but the Birchshanks fared back



to the king. Then the king made them drag the ships into that river which is called Kinna, and thence across a neck a mile long ere he got into the Elf. Then it was told them at once that the Ribbalds had turned east out of the Elf; the Birchshanks held on after them and dragged their ship across that neck of land which is called Fundu-eid, and came to that farm which is called Fala. Then it was told them at once that the Ribbalds were east on Vingr. Then the king landed from his ships and almost all his force, and set behind goodman Gunbjorn and Saxi bladespear to watch the ships; and bade them be on the same side of the water as that on which he marched. That was on Sunday night. But next morning at dawn they came over against the church at Vingr; there was that farmer whose name was Gunnar, a friend of the king. He tells the king that the Ribbalds lay then on the other side of the river, opposite; but that they rowed every day over the stream to learn tidings. Then the king ordered his men to hide themselves up in the woods away from the farm. But when the sun began to shine then the Ribbalds saw where a force lay in the woods, and they turned down at once back to their ships on their own side of the river. Then the Birchshanks hastened their march, for they feared that the Ribbalds might take their ships. When the king landed from his ships he sent some bands thither, where he heard that Amundi of Folafield was, and the Birchshanks came upon them unawares. Some were slain, but some driven into the stream, but almost all lost their arms. In the morning when the Birchshanks ran out from the wood their force seemed to the Ribbalds greater than it was. Then Harold of Lautyn ran out on the river bank and asked who was at the head of the force. Harold stakefoal answered: "We ought to know one another, for we are kinsmen,

A.D. 1227.

He pursues the Ribbalds down the Elf.

A.D. 1227. " but here we are besides yokefellows and stewards  
 The Birch- " of the Uplands." The other answers: " Seldom have  
 shanks and the " ye so great force or so well armed; but where is  
 Ribbalds " King Hacon?" " Here he is," says Harold. The  
 fight across the river, other answers: " Why will he take on him such vile  
 and at last the king " toil, and what does he look to get in return for  
 defeats " knocking about all over the Marches east at us  
 them and " Ribbalds?" " It is more necessity than wantonness,  
 takes all " I ween, that draws him to this," says Harold, " to  
 their ships. " kick such a band of ruffians out of the land as ye  
 " have." Then each side marched as hard as they  
 could; and they shot at one another where the  
 stream was narrowest. Then God as ever showed  
 great mercy to king Hacon, for those who were on  
 the ships landed, as the king had laid his plans, and  
 found there a band of the Ribbalds, and slew them  
 all. Then they became aware that the main body of  
 the Ribbalds was on that side of the river. Then  
 they turned across the river and met the king; and  
 then each were glad to see the others. But as soon  
 as the Ribbalds saw that the king had reached his  
 ships, then they turned their march back east. But  
 there was such a strong stream there, and there  
 were such tall rocks in the river where the king met  
 his ships, and where the Ribbalds had come, that both  
 sides landed and towed their ships, but some punted  
 them with poles; and if any rope snapped in any  
 ship then it was in risk at once, and those who were  
 aboard. And when they came to where the river  
 was narrowest both sides rested; and the king meant  
 to take a snack, but the Ribbalds shot at them and  
 the snack came to nothing. Then each side fared as  
 fast as they could until the Ribbalds came to the  
 church-farm where they had been before. Then  
 Harold of Lautyn again came forward and more  
 Ribbalds, and spoke very bad words to the Birch-  
 shanks. But the king called to him Olaf swim-strong

a follower of Arnbjorn John's son, and bade him tell A.D. 1227. the Ribbalds to stop their silly words, and bade them bide till his ships came, and then they have more to deal with than words alone. The Ribbalds said they were quite willing to that.

153. Next of all it was that fourteen ships came to the king; he manned them as he best could. And while the king was doing this, the Ribbalds ran in east by the church, and up a little cross-stream into that lake which is called Vingr-sea; that goes up as far as Eidawood. The Birchshanks rowed across the river. And when they came in mid-stream then they saw that the Ribbalds were drawn up in battle array to meet them, and shot hard at them; and the Birchshanks thought that they must mean to stand, most thought it full of risk to attack them; for the river-bank was three spear-shafts high on which they stood; but the clay so soft that one foot stuck fast while the other was put down; but still the Birchshanks rowed at them most boldly. But when the ships ran on shore then the Ribbalds fled; but the Birchshanks landed, and thought they would stand better higher up. But when they got up on the bank, the Ribbalds were nowhere near. Then king Hacon turned back to his ships, and went east along the stream where the ships of the Ribbalds were making off. Both sides rowed their best. Canute marched higher up east along the stream by the wood. But when the Ribbalds came to the water's edge, they jumped out of their ships and ran away. Then the king came after them and slew some of their men, and took all their ships and turned back. He came in the morning at dawn to where he had gone on board his ships. That was Monday in the Ganging-days (Rogation Week). The king bade men take a snack, for they had not eaten a meal since Saturday. There the spies came to the king whom he had sent

After  
pursuing  
the Rib-  
balds  
on the  
river-bank  
they will  
not stand,  
and all  
ran away.

A.D. 1227. after the Ribbalds, and told him that Canute had turned the shortest way out on to the Marches. Then Canute after this betook himself to the Marches, and the king returned to Oslo and made to sail east to the Elf. The king turned north, and so up into Heidmark, and dragged his ships across Fundueid, and so into Mjösen. Bishop Halvard was then at Hammar, and the king was with him on Holy Thursday (Ascension Day) in good cheer. King Hacon put all the Uplands in order, and set men to watch the ships. After that he marched to Eidfields, and thence to Oslo. He was there half a month before he busked him east to the Elf.

The law-man Askel and lady Christine try to get peace for Canute, but he makes another dash from the Marches.

154. When King Hacon was boun to sail east to the Lands-end came letters from Canute and lady Christine and the Lawman, and they sought for peace for Canute from the king, and said that he would put himself into his power so soon as he came east. They begged him to let this proceed secretly, so that the Ribbalds might not be aware of it; for they would rather have Canute a dead man than that he should go away from them. The king was glad at that, and sent letters back; and promised his kinsman Canute both peace and honours if he would come into his power. And when king Hacon came east into the Elf it was told him that the Ribbalds were up on lake Vener. Then the king sent spies to lady Christine to know if any of those things were to be kept which Canute had said. But lady Christine said she would come herself, to bring her son into the king's peace. There were then with the king bishop Orm and many liegemen whom the king purposed to have by him at this peace-making. And he sat half a month at the King's Crag, and every day men came from lady Christine and say now and now that Canute would come and put himself into his power.

155. Lord Canute took then a plan into his hands which had never been tried by his father earl Hacon,



on which hung great treachery. He let them drag A.D. 1227.  
 from the east over Eidwood ships where they had never  
 before been dragged, and came unawares on the king's  
 men on that river which is called Varm, over against  
 Eidsfield, and he would have cut off there a great  
 force of the king in the Uplands if the mercy of God  
 had not been greater than the faith of the Ribbalds.  
 At the head of the king's men were Ivar of Skedjuhof  
 and John kitten, Erling roomstaff, Thorgeir bishops-  
 man, and Andrew the white. They were on board  
 ship, but the freemen kept together on Eidsfield. When  
 the Birchshanks got news of the Ribbalds they sent  
 word to the freemen, and they who were the boldest  
 in the gathering went out on board the ships to the  
 Birchshanks. The Ribbalds had great ships. They  
 had dragged a fourteen-bencher and twelve ships from  
 the east. The Birchshanks had smaller ships. And  
 when they met a battle began between them, and the  
 Birchshanks had the worst of it in the first onslaught,  
 and so that they were next to taking to flight. Then  
 John kitten and Erling roomstaff came up in a galley,  
 and then the Birchshanks recovered themselves. The  
 loss of men turned on the side of the Ribbalds, and  
 sooner than was to be looked for they made off,  
 Canute jumped overboard and had hard work to save  
 his life. There fell many picked men of the Ribbalds,  
 but the Birchshanks had many wounded. Goodman  
 Ivar got a leg-wound, and went halt ever afterwards.  
 The Birchshanks took all the ships of the Ribbalds.  
 After that the freemen plucked up courage against the  
 Ribbalds, so that they were always falling on them  
 and slew many men of them.

He is  
 signally  
 defeated,  
 and has to  
 jump  
 overboard  
 to save  
 his life.

156. Now when the Ribbalds saw that their lot was  
 hard on all sides, then they sent men to those  
 Birchshanks who were in the Uplands, and asked for  
 terms. But the Birchshanks took that well, and they  
 gave hostages the one to the other. But the Birch-

The Rib-  
 balds are  
 eager for  
 peace, and  
 the king  
 grants it.

A.D. 1227. shanks sent the hostages whom they took of the Ribbalds east to the king. But they went with them, Clement of Holm and Guttorm Erlend's son, and they met the king in Hornbora sound, and said all was left to his mercy and power as to how he should deal with the hostages. The king received them well, and sailed the same day east to Uswicks isles, and sent men anew to Canute, and promised all the Ribbalds peace if they would come into his mercy. After that the king went to Oslo. And when he had been there a little while Harold of Lautyn came to him sent from Canute, and offered them steadfast pledges for a firm atonement with the Birchshanks. Then king Harold held a meeting of his bodyguard and spoke thus: "It

The king's  
speech to  
his body-  
guard.

" is known to most men what buffetings and toil we  
" have had with the Ribbalds, and manifold scathe in  
" the loss of good fellows, though they have lost more  
" at our hands, which is better. Now they ask us  
" for peace, and are very willing to come into our  
" power. But if we are willing to give them peace,  
" then we shall grant that in such wise that they shall  
" be blameless as to all things which they have mis-  
" done against us, as is the custom of good princes;  
" else let us grant them no peace, but follow them  
" up now to the utmost of our might. Their strength  
" is now minished. But I am not the less willing for  
" that. But still ye shall settle it as you will." The  
Birchshanks said they would willingly forgive the  
Ribbalds the waste of goods and loss of kin, rather  
than knock about after them any longer. Now the  
king sent to fetch Canute and the Ribbalds, Eystein  
Roar's son, Guttorm Erlend's son and Frederick slob-  
berer. They found them up in the Islelake, and he  
fared with them to Oslo, into the power of king  
Hacon, and a crowd of picked men with him. After  
that the king settled his rule over all the Uplands.  
But those Ribbalds who looked for no peace for them-

Lord  
Canute  
and the  
Ribbalds  
come into  
the king's  
peace.

selves bolted out of Norway east on to the Marches. A.D. 1227.  
 That man was called Magnus leafcoat who then put Magnus leafcoat  
 himself at their head and was called king. But when is hanged  
 king Hacon heard that he sent east Harold of Lautyn, by the  
 to see if he could get at Magnus. But when Magnus Verm-  
 heard of Harold he had his doubts that he would not landers.  
 be true to him, and fell on him and slew him. The  
 king had also sent letters east into Vermland, that  
 the freemen should do one thing or the other, drive  
 this band of robbers out of their country, or else he  
 would set out to light a fire which should warm their  
 backs not a whit less than before. When the freemen  
 saw those letters they gathered them together, and  
 marched against Magnus and took him and hanged  
 him up and some men with him.—And there ends  
 the age of the Ribbalds. The end of the Ribbalds.

157. King Hacon busked him from Oslo to Bergen; The king and the earl in Bergen.  
 he gave his kinsman Canute ten ships; one was a  
 two-and-twenty bencher, and he gave him every-  
 thing which he needed to have. After that the  
 king fared north into the land. And when he came  
 to the Selisles, earl Skuli came to meet him with  
 many and big ships. He had purposed to go south  
 to Denmark. But when they met it was settled  
 that the earl should turn north with the king to  
 Bergen. They were both in the king's house, and  
 had a very great company. Then it went blithely  
 with them, and each went every other day to the  
 other for pastime. Then there were great drinking-  
 bouts in the town. The liegemen had great bands.  
 Paul barrow-pole had a son whose name was Ivar  
 the surly; he could find no better work to do than  
 to slay an old Birchshank one evening after even-  
 song; and he laid that blame on him that his son  
 had been at the slaying of Arni Helldale; but this  
 man's name was Eric baggy. But that manslaughter  
 had been north in the Voes, as was written before.

A.D. 1227. But as soon as the body-guard became aware of that they all put on their arms who had gone into the king's hand. These tidings came to that father and son Paul and Nicholas, and they took the deed ill which fell on one who was blameless. That father and son went into the steeple of Nicholas church and busked them there. The body-guard went to the church and wished to break it open. Then that was told to the king. The earl was then at the king's banquet, and they went at once to Nicholas church. But when they came thither then the body-guard had taken Ivar nosy—he was a kinsman of Nicholas Paul's son—and meant to slay him; and things looked like great trouble ere the king came up. The king took Ivar at once into his power, and bade the body-guard cease their attack on the church. But next morning the king let the horns be blown for a meeting of the body-guard, and told them that he would not in anywise that Nicholas should smart for this deed, when neither witting it nor wielding any power over it. Then Nicholas came out of the church and into the king's keeping; but his brother Ivar he let them put across the water to Munklif cloister, and he was there till he fared out of the land. There was much other uproar that summer for drunkenness sake, but all things then went blithely between the king and earl.

Ivar the surly and Nicholas taken under the king's protection.

Much drunkenness that summer.

Lord Canute betrothed to Ingirid earl's daughter.

158. Earl Skuli begged the king that he would give him leave to fare to Denmark to see king Waldemar, and gave out that he wished to ride out of Drontheim in the spring east to the Bay. The king gave his leave for that. Then the earl busked him to fare north into the land. Lord Canute was then there in good cheer with the king. He let his prayer be backed with the earl, and asked for his daughter lady Ingirid with the king's consent. He betrothed her, and set off with the earl to make his bridal



Ere they parted, the king and earl, Olaf son of king A.D. 1227.  
 Hacon was born. The earl fared north to Drontheim, The earl goes to Drontheim, and the king stays the winter in Bergen.  
 but they parted with great love, the king and he,  
 for that time.

159. Archbishop Peter had breathed his last the autumn before on Dionisius' mass, and sira Thorir the Drontheimer was chosen in his stead and had gone out of the country. In that year died pope Honorius, but Gregory came in his stead. King Hacon sat that winter in Bergen. And this was the eleventh year of his reign. In the spring in Lent the king fared east into the Bay, and came to Tunsberg after Easter. And fared thence in to Oslo. And when he came he found the earl there and lord Canute, and Gregorius John's son and Asolf earl's kinsman, and many other noble men who had fared from the north with the earl. A.D. 1228. The king and earl and lord Canute meet in the spring at Oslo.

160. When they had been but a few nights in the town, archbishop Thorir came thither from Rome newly-consecrated; and the king sent men to meet him out to Hofudisle, and the archbishop came into the king's house. But as the king had brought with him from the ships enough stores and to spare, but the earl had brought little, so the earl was most often with the king in the evenings. The king was in that abode which is called Stout-inn, but the earl was in Skarthel. That event happened that that man whose name was Roi Halkel's son, one of the earl's followers, slew one evening a man who had gone into the king's hand, whose name was Olaf the white. And when Roi had done that deed he ran to that abode in which the king and earl both were, and called out at the door. The king bade them undo the door. And when Roi came in he gave himself up into the king's power, and said what he had done. The king answers thus: "For as much as thou hast come into our power, " then mayst thou get peace of us; but it is not the

A.D. 1228. "less to be looked for, that they will smart for this deed who have had naught to do with it." A little after the king's horn sounded, and the liegemen and handbound men of the king who were in the town ran together, and ran to the house which the earl's followers were in. These were the liegemen who led them: Arnbjorn John's son, Simon kine, Lodin Gunni's son and goodman Gunnbjorn. When the king and earl heard that then the earl asked the king that he would hit upon some plan by which things would go better than was aimed at. The king arose at once, and bade the earl wait for him till he came back. But when the king came to the yard gate there was so great a throng of armed men that he could get no further. Then he passed over men's heads and so got as far as the earl's men. And at his coming the uproar was stilled, and the king summoned all men to a parley north to Halvard's church. But that man whose name was Sigurd was bold enough to speak these words: "We should then have something for the uproar and trouble which are done us if we slew the king first, and it would take little to do it?" But those his fellows cursed him and said: "Wouldest thou, vile man, do this dastard's deed to the king and slay him, because he has come to help us?" After that the king went out of the yard and all the folk followed him north to the Deals and were slow in settling down, for all the Birchshanks were eager to be at the earl's men. But the archbishop sent after that men to the king and bade him so look to it that no trouble might arise out of this quarrel. The king said so it should be. After that he brought about peace, and the quarrel was to stand over that night, to be ransacked in the morning. Then the king went home, and the earl met him, and then they sat and amused themselves. And when the king went out, then he took Roi by

The king  
settles a  
quarrel  
between  
the liege-  
men.

the hand, and led him up to Halvard's church, and bade him take care of himself thenceforth. And this quarrel was settled in the morning. A.D. 1228.

161. Earl Skuli had come from the north because he purposed to sail south to Denmark to see the Dane-king on board a chapman's ship, for he had no ship there in the Bay. Then the king lent him his ship and gave him levies out of twelve ship districts. After that the earl went on his way, and with him lord Canute and Gregorius John's son and Asolf earl's kin. They found the Dane-king in Copenhagen, and the king took well to the earl, and they spoke of many things which were not in other men's knowledge. The earl stayed awhile with the Dane-king in good cheer. And when they parted the king gave him great gifts, but also gave the earl in fief half of Halland. After that the earl sailed north to Norway. And when he came to Tunsberg the king had fared north to Bergen. Lord Canute and Gregorius John's son were eager to fare by way of ship north to the king; and when they got leave from the earl they both went on board the same ship. But when they came north off Hvarfsnessend they sailed on a shoal, and there Gregorius John's son and some men with him were lost. He was thought then to be the noblest of all the liegemen in Norway, and sprung from the best families. And now that stock of liegemen was all but ended which had been most noble in South Mæren, which were called the men of Blindheim. Lord Canute saved himself with great difficulty and lost there many precious treasures. After that he was forwarded north to Bergen. The king received him with honour. Earl Skuli stayed that autumn in the Bay, and fared when it was well on north to Drontheim; and there he sat that winter.

Earl Skuli's  
voyage to  
Denmark.  
King  
Waldunon  
grants him  
half Hal-  
land in  
fief.

He returns  
to the Bay  
and then  
north to  
Dront-  
heim.

162. That summer came from the west across the sea messengers from earl John of the Orkneys with

A.D. 1228. many good offerings, which the earl sent to king  
 King Hacon. But in the autumn the king sent the earl a  
 Hacon keeps Yule good long-ship and many other gifts. King Hacon  
 at Bergen. sat that winter in Bergen. And that was the twelfth  
 year of his reign. Then there was good peace in the  
 land and good agreement between the king and the  
 earl. In the winter archbishop Thorir sent word to  
 all the bishops in Norway that they should come  
 north to him next summer.—That summer great strife  
 was told of from the west across the sea out of the  
 Southern Isles.

A.D. 1228 163. There was an earl in Scotland named Alan, a  
 -1229. son of Rollant earl of Galloway. He was the greatest  
 The affairs warrior in that time. He had a great host and a  
 of Scot- crowd of ships, and harried round the Southern Isles  
 land and and Ireland, and did much scathe far and wide in  
 the king- the Western lands. Olaf Godred's son was then king  
 dom of Man. in Man, and he held that realm manfully against the  
 earl and with much faith towards king Hacon. But  
 the kings of the Southern Isles, those who were  
 come of Sumarled's stock, were very unfaithful to  
 king Hacon. These were kings in the Southern Isles,  
 Dougal screech, and Duncan his brother, the father  
 of John who was afterwards king. They were the  
 sons of Dougal Sumarled's son. There was a man  
 named Ospak, who had long been with the Birch-  
 shanks. It came out that he was a son of Dougal's,  
 and their brother. Sumarled was the name of another  
 of their kinsmen, who was then still king in the  
 Southern Isles.

King 164. King Hacon fared in the autumn out of  
 Hacon in Bergen east to the Bay, and stayed a while in Tuns-  
 the Bay. berg, and fared thence in to Oslo. Andrew shield-  
 band, the king's kinsman, was there, and made ready  
 that winter to go out of the land away to Jerusalem.  
 Andrew rode in the winter south to Halland, and  
 thence to Zealand and to Whitsand, and thence



palmer's way out to the sea, and there be got on board a galleon. And from that day forth he was never heard of. And king Hacon wrote to the emperor Frederick and others of his friends in foreign lands that they should find out by asking what had become of Andrew. But they could never learn anything about him. Ingibjorg, Andrew's wife, was left behind, and Peter who was called their son. But when Andrew was dead and gone Ingibjorg let it out that earl Skuli was Peter's father; and the earl admitted his kinship, and took Peter into his house and showed great love to him.

A.D. 1229.  
Andrew  
shieldband  
lost on his  
voyage to  
Jewry  
land.

King Hacon sat in Oslo that winter. And this was the thirteenth winter of his reign. The winter after, when it was far on, the king held a meeting in the town. At that meeting he gave Ospak the title of king,—but he had been called Opak the Southern-islander,—and along with it he gave him the name of Hacon. The king then gave it out openly that he would get him a force in the summer to go west across the sea. That day on which the meeting was held came to the town from the east out of the Swederealm Magnus weedy, son of earl Canute, the son of Birgir the smiling, the king's kinsman. He had to wife Sigrid daughter of Canute the Swede-king, and their son's name was Canute. King Hacon received Magnus worthily, and he stayed with him a while, and they parted with much love. In the spring there were these tidings in Drontheim, that archbishop Thorir died. That was on Easter Day. But in his stead came Sigurd son of Einrid payne, and he fared that summer out of the land (to Rome).

A.D. 1229  
-1230.  
King  
Hacon  
in the Bay  
entertains  
his Swe-  
dish kins-  
men.

Death of  
archbishop  
Thorir.

166. King Hacon fared in the summer north to Bergen. But when he came thither, he made them fit out a host west across the sea which was to follow Ospak. To that voyage earl Skuli gave some force; and these were the ship-captains of his furnishing: out a force

King  
Hacon  
in the  
summer  
at Bergen,  
and fits  
out a force

A.D. 1230. Sigurd thick-lips, Sigurd smith, and Paul Balki's son. But on the king's part: king Ospak, Thormod thingfrith, Sorkvir sogn-cheese, Oliver all-ill, Sveinung the black, and Paul goose. They had eleven ships from Norway. When they were boun, came west from the Southern Isles Olaf the black, the king of Man. He told of great strife from the west out of the Isles. He said he had fled out of the Isles and Man, because the earl Alan had gathered together a great host, and meant to fall on the men of Man. He repeated many of the earl's big words as to the men of Norway. He said the earl called the sea no more difficult to cross to Norway than from Norway to Scotland, and that it was no worse off for havens there to him who wished to harry. But that was said, but not done. King Olaf stayed four nights in the town ere they sailed west. Olaf went in the same ship with Paul Balki's son to the Orkneys. But then earl John gave him the ship which was called the Ox. When they sailed from the Orkneys they had twenty ships. But when they heard that, Balki the young and Ottar snowball, then they fared north to Sky and met them in West-firth; and they met Thorkel Thormod's son and fought with him there. There fell Thorkel and two of his sons, but Thormod his son got away; in that wise that he sprang into a cask that was floating there alongside a ship, and it drifted with him to Scotland to the north of Hattarskot. After that they, Ottar and Balki, went on to meet king Ospak and his force.

Ospak  
meets his  
brothers  
in Isla-  
sound.

167. After that they came together with all their host south to Isla-sound. There were then there Ospak's two brothers, Dougal and Duncan, and the third that chief whose name was Sumarled, their kinsman; and they had a great force. They bade the Northmen to a feast, and had strong wine. It was told the Northmen that everything would not be so guileless, and so they would not go to the feast. Then either

side gathered up its force, for neither trusted the others. A.D. 1230. Duncan slept on board his brother Ospak's ship. A little after the Northmen made an onslaught on the Southern-islanders, and slew Sumarled and many men with him. They laid hands on Duncan and threw him into fetters. Ten of the Northmen fell. King Ospak had no hand in that. And when he was ware of it, he sent his brother Duncan away, but his brother Dougal he took into his own keeping. Now they gathered force round the Isles, and got together in all eighty ships, and sailed afterwards south off the Mull of Cantire and so in to Bute. And there sat the Scots in castles, and there was a steward at their head, one of the Scots. The Northmen ran in to the Burg, and made a hard assault on it. But the Scots defended themselves well, and poured down on them boiling pitch and lead. Then fell many of the Northmen and many were wounded. They bound over them "flakes" of wood, and after that they hewed at the wall, for the stone was soft; and the wall crumbled before them. They hewed at it on the ground. That candle-page, whose name was Skagi skitter, shot the steward to death as he sprang on the burg-wall. Three days they fought with the Burg-men ere they got the burg won. They took there much fee, and a Scottish knight, who ransomed himself for three hundred marks of burnt (silver). There fell Sveinung the black and some three hundred men of the Northmen and of the Southern-islanders in all. They fell into a great storm, and lost there three ships with the crews and all that was in them. Then they heard that earl Alan was south at Ness, and had drawn together 150 ships, and meant to attack them. Then they sailed north under Cantire, and lay there a while, and made many inroads. Then king Ospak fell sick for a little while, and died; and his death was a great grief to his men. They bore his body to the grave. After that king Olaf was

The Northmen and the South-islanders quarrel. Ospak attacks Cantire and Bute with eighty ships.

They storm a castle in Bute with great loss.

Death of king Ospak.

A.D. 1230. made chief over the whole host. After that they sailed under] Copemans - island, and lay there long that winter. They fared south to Man, and there was a gathering against them. That man was at the head of the force, whose name was Thorkel Njal's son. The Man-dwellers would not fight against king Olaf, and broke up the gathering in spite of Thorkel, and the Northmen laid hands on him and had him a while in fetters. They laid a fine on the men of Man, three pen-nies for each cow, and to feed the whole host that winter. Sigurd thick-lips and Sigurd smith sent Thorkel off by stealth, and some liked that ill. When it began to be spring, the Northmen fared away from Man, but king Olaf stayed behind. They sailed north under Cantire and landed there, but the Scots came against them there and fought with them, and were in very loose array in the battle and ran to and fro. There fell many men on either side. But when the Northmen came to their ships, then the Scots had slain all their lads who were on shore to make ready meat, and all their meat-kettles were away. They made many in-roads on Cantire, and fared thence north into the Isles. And when they came to Lewis, there they fell on Thormod Thorkel's son. They chased him out of the Isles, and slew there some men of his and took all his stores, and made his wife captive. After that they sailed north to the Orkneys. But Paul Balki's son was behind in the Southern Isles, and he fell a few weeks afterwards at the hand of Godred the black, the son of king Rognvald. Most of the Northmen sailed at once east for Norway; and they had in this voyage done much to win honour for the king west across the sea. And when they came to king Hacon's presence he thanked them well for their doings.

The  
Norsemen  
fight with  
the Scots  
and in the  
Southern  
Isles and  
return to  
Norway  
with glory.

King  
Hacon in  
Bergen.

King Hacon had sat that winter in Bergen; and this was the fourteenth winter of his reign. That same autumn archbishop Sigurd came home from his



consecration and went north to his see. In the A.D. 1230. Orkneys stayed behind that man whose name was Oliver all-ill. He was one of the king's guard, and a very overbearing man. He fared to Hanef the young, who then had the stewardship on behalf of the king. Hanef had been the king's page. They were three brothers, Hanef the young, and Kolbein, and Andrew. Hanef had a great train of followers.

Oliver all-ill stays behind and joins Hanef the king's steward in the Orkneys.

169. There was a man named Snækoll there in the Isles, and he was the son of Gunni; his mother's name was Ragnhilda; she was a daughter of Eric staybrails and Ingigerd, daughter of the saint earl Rognvald. Snækoll claimed some farms there in the Isles which those kinsmen had owned who were come of Rognvald's stock, but earl John had the keeping of them, and the earl had put off setting the farms free. But Snækoll raised this matter often before him. Then the earl began to answer angrily, and asked whether he would do after the pattern of his uncle Harold, and claim the Orkneys against him. "But of a surety I mean to hold my realm against thee, as my father did by thy uncle." Snækoll answers: "It is to be looked for by me, that thou wilt grant me little of the Orkneys when thou wilt not grant me those estates which I own by right of inheritance." The earl laid great enmity on Snækoll. And he so looked at it, that he thought his life was not safe from the earl. Then he went to Hanef and his brothers, and went there into following and fellowship with them.

Snækoll, a descendant of earl Rognvald, has a quarrel with earl John, and joins Hanef and his band.

170. They went in the autumn both of them over to Caithness into Thurso. They each had their own lodgings, the earl and Hanef and his brothers. Both of them too had a great train of followers. But their followers often came to quarrels when they met drunken in the evenings. It befell one evening when Hanef and his men sat and drank, and were very merry,

A.D. 1230 -1231. Hanef and his band and earl John and his followers are in Thurso in the autumn.

A.D. 1230 that a man ran in before Hanef and said: "So look  
-1231. " out for yourselves, Hanef and you messmates, that  
" the earl means to make an onslaught on you this  
" night, and to settle matters now once for all  
" between you; for he cannot trust you, if ye live  
" longer together."

Kolbein  
and Snækoll  
attack the  
earl and  
kill him.

171. When Hanef heard that, he said to his brother Kolbein and to Snækoll: "Take this now for " truth," and they lay their plans to be first in striking a blow. Now they bid their followers arm themselves. But drunkenness so settled it that they all thought it good counsel which they undertook. As soon as they were armed they went to that lodging in which the earl lay with strife and fire, and turned their arms on those whom they met. But when the earl was ware of the strife, then he sought to get away into some cellar, and meant to hide himself there. But they got word of where he was. They ran down thither into the cellar, Snækoll, Sumarled Rolf's son, and Oliver all-ill, and Rafn, and some more. Snækoll found the earl by a tun; and they dealt him there and then his death-wounds. There died with the earl some men at the hand of Hanef and his men. The earl had nine wounds. After this deed Hanef and his men went away from Caithness and out into the Orkneys.

Hanef and  
his men  
fly to  
Kolbein  
the burly's  
castle in  
Wyre.

They went into Wyre, and sat in the castle which Kolbein the burly had let be built. They gathered to them stores enough and a herd of neat, and kept them in the outworks of the castle. But when the friends of the earl in the Orkneys heard that they gathered a great force, and went out into Wyre, and beleaguered the castle. But it was a very unhandy place to attack. Then the kinsmen of Hanef, Kolbein in Rendale, and many others also gathered them together, and tried to bring about an atonement between them. And so it came about that peace was

given them. They were to be that winter in the Orkneys, and fare in the summer to Norway to king Hacon's presence; and he should settle that quarrel. Then the gathering broke up, and this quarrel stood without fresh trouble that winter. In the spring after they sailed to Norway, Hanef and his companions, but on board another ship sailed the earl's kinsmen and friends, and near all the best men out of the Orkneys.

A.D. 1231  
-1232.

They were to fare to the Orkneys the summer after and leave the matter to king Hacon.

172. That winter the king sat in Bergen. And this was the fifteenth winter of his reign. In the spring the king had fared east into the Bay on his business, and he had not come back from the east when Hanef and his companions came to Bergen. They went into the house of Aura-Paul. And when they had stayed a little while in the town earl Skuli came from the north out of Drontheim. He had little to say to Hanef and his companions. Somewhat later came the king from the east. There too was lord Canute. And when he had stayed a little time in the town, he let the horns sound for a meeting of the body-guard, and for all the men who had come into his hand. And when they came to the meeting, Hanef and his fellows, the trencher pages took those brothers, Hanef and Kolbein, and the sons of Rolf kitten, Sumarled and Andrew, and led them up to the burg, and they were put in ward there. But Oliver all-ill and his companions, and those who had been at the manslaughter were brought out into Toluholm. There was a guest named Bjorn, who had been at the slaying with them. He had come then over against St. Mary's church, when the mass began there, and meant to go to the meeting of the bodyguard. He said: "I ween " I am more bound to go to mass than to meeting." He turns into the church, and before mass was over

The king takes the matter up.

The guilty are arrested except one.

A.D. 1232. he was told that Oliver and his companions were taken. And that gave him his life that he went into the church Sigvaldi Skjalg's son was the most stirring in this quarrel. He took Thorkell the black in by the Swarthbooths and led him along the street out of the town. And when they came before that house in which earl Skuli was, then he stood at a window slit in the gallery and called to Sigvaldi, and begged him not to kill Thorkell, "Unless he be too much burdened with guilt." "He is by so much more guilty than others," answers Sigvaldi, "that he wounded a dead man where the earl was." So Thorkel went out to the Holm with Oliver. There they were beheaded, five men of them, Rafn, and Oliver, and Thorkel, and two other men who were at the earl's slaying.

The guilty  
are be-  
headed.

The flower  
of the  
Orkney-  
ingers lost  
at sea.  
Hanef and  
his band  
stay with  
earl Skuli.

173. That same autumn the Orkneyingers fared west and all went in one ship, the best men of the Isles. That ship was lost, and all who were in her. And many men have had to atone for this later. Earl Skuli went north to Drontheim in the autumn, and these with him, Hanef, and Kolbein, and Snækoll. Hanef and his brothers were that winter with Paul barrowpole north at Dynness. In the spring Hanef fared to the king and got then leave to go home. He was driven back by stress of weather to the Hernisles, and took a sickness there and died. But Kolbein his brother died a little later in Drontheim. Snækoll was long afterwards with earl Skuli and Hacon.

174. In the autumn when they parted in Bergen, king Hacon and earl Skuli, then was born on Martinmass night Hacon the son of king Hacon, and that winter afterwards the king sat in Bergen. And this was the sixteenth winter of his reign. That winter many divisions and discords sprang up between king Hacon



and earl Skuli. And it is the story of most men that this had arisen much from the words of the liegemen, of whom men knew that they would always draw asunder their friendship more than they ought. The earl had that winter great shipbuilding, and many of those undertakings which his enemies looked on with great jealousy, and reckoned to unfaithfulness towards the king. Lady Ingirid, the daughter of earl Skuli, was then dead, whom lord Canute had to wife; and then it was all over with their friendship, the earl's and his. Lord Canute had then half of Rygja province, and half of Sogn, and he thought that a less fief than his heart was content with. He raised this question, and the liegemen with him, that that sharing of the land was not equal which had been settled in Bergen, and that it was nearer a half than a third of Norway that the earl had. This winter archbishop Sigurd sent word to all the bishops, and summoned them to meet with him in Bergen the summer after.

A.D. 1233.  
Discords  
spring up  
between  
king  
Hacon and  
earl Skuli  
from the  
backbiting  
of the  
liegemen.  
Death of  
Ingirid,  
lord Ca-  
nute's wife.

He is not  
content  
with his  
share of  
the land.

175. King Hacon fared in the spring east to the Bay. He sent men north to Drontheim with these words, that earl Skuli should come in the summer south to Bergen; and should then talk over those divisions which then passed between them. But when the king came to the Bay he summoned to him all his liegemen and stewards who were in the Bay, and laid it on them as a duty to go with him to Bergen. He had then great levies in the Bay, and drew together a great host and sailed for Bergen. These were the liegemen: Arnbjorn John's son, Simon kine, Lodin Gunni's son, and goodman Gunbjorn. The king had with him out of the Bay a mighty and picked force. But when he came north into Gula-Thing's law then he summoned to him all the liegemen with great bands of followers. When the king came to

The king  
calls earl  
Skuli to  
Bergen,  
and brings  
great  
levies  
from the  
Bay  
thither.

A.D. 1233. Bergen he ran his ship into the king's berth. After  
 Summer. that long-ships lay all along the gangways towards  
 the inside of the town.

Earl Skuli 176. Earl Skuli was in Drontheim in the summer.  
 sails from He had made them lay down a big ship in the spring  
 Drontheim out at the Eres. That was called "Good-Friday." It  
 with was bigger than other ships by a good deal, and that  
 thirty ships late in the was why it was not far on in the summer. The earl  
 autumn. busked him from the north as the summer wore  
 away and was late boun. He had thirty ships, and  
 most of them big. These were the liegemen with him :  
 Alf his brother-in-law, and Asolf his kinsman, Paul  
 barrowpole, Nicholas his son, Bard downright, and  
 Eilif of Field; there were also many stewards. It  
 was far on in the autumn when the earl came south.  
 He sent before him Paul barrowpole to see the king.  
 And when he came to Bergen the liegemen brought  
 great complaints against him; and say that it was  
 wonderful that he was with the earl and against the  
 king, and also the other liegemen who were come  
 north; and bade them part from the earl and come  
 over to the king. "I have not been against the  
 " king," answers Paul, "though I may have fared from  
 " the north with the earl, when the king sent him  
 " word. But so I ween it will turn out with most of  
 " the liegemen who have come from the north, that  
 " they will not part from earl Skuli for the sake of  
 " your rash words." After that Paul went to see the  
 king, and all the talk between them went off well.  
 Paul sailed to meet the earl, and told what practices  
 there were in the town; and that ships lay so thick  
 off the gangways that there was no hope that they  
 could find a berth there.

When he  
 arrives  
 there is  
 no room  
 at the  
 gangways  
 for his  
 ships.

Earl Skuli's Earl Skuli so arranged his sailing in to the town  
 plan of that he let his own ship go first; then next those  
 sailing two who were biggest; then three, then five, six,  
 into the town.

and seven. So they grew in size ever as they came A.D. 1233. nearer, and this marshalling was fair to behold. The earl ran in by Northness out from Munkalif by Sharkstrand; and they had there a bad berth, so that some of the earl's ships were broken ere the weather cleared up. So sang Olaf white-skald:

The mighty king a message sent  
To Drontheim's lord of broad estates.  
The haughty earl a mighty fleet  
Brought from the north; the ships sped fast.  
'Gainst the earl hard words were uttered,  
Thence sprung trouble to the lieges;  
The valiant leader lined the shore  
At Sharkstrand with a host of ships.

177. When the earl had been a little while in the town, then they, the king and he, had a meeting in the vestry at Christ's Church, and the king laid some blame on him, and made him along with it hard reproaches. After that a meeting was set in Christ Church yard. Then there was a throne set under the king, and he sat on it, and around him stood his liegemen and councillors. Gunnar the king's kinsman stood at the king's back by the throne. Lord Canute was at the meeting, and archbishop Sigurd, and all the suffragan bishops who were in the land. After that earl Skuli came to the meeting with all his men. They saw that there was no room meant for the earl on that throne on which the king sat. And his men went about to set another chair for him, and put it under him. After that goodman Dagfinn stood up and greeted the king, as is the custom, and spoke a long speech. And his speech ended thus, that he exhorted those kinsmen to peace and agreement. Then the king stood up and made a clever speech, and it ended so that he brought against the earl the charges which his foes had raised before him. And when he had done the liegemen rose and threw charges against the earl, one after the other, and brought great blame on him. And

The king  
and earl  
meet at a  
Thing.  
The king  
brings his  
charges  
against  
the earl,  
and the  
liegemen  
follow suit.

A.D. 1233, when that ceased the earl stood up and began his autumn.

speech in this way:—

The earl  
defends  
himself in  
a long and  
clever  
speech, and  
is ready to  
give way  
to the king.

“ I know only one song:

‘ An eagle sat on a stone,’

“ and this is another:

‘ An eagle sat on a stone,’

“ all are as though they were one:

“ An eagle sat on a stone.’

“ It is so here to-day,” he says, “ that each begins his business in his own way, but they all end in one way to lay blame on me.” After that he made a long and clever speech, and threw off him all the blame that had been found in him. He turned his speech so that he was bound to give way before the king. But this he said was as plain as day, that he would owe the liegemen full disfavour for their back-biting and evil tale-bearing between the king and him. And when he had ended his speech Gunnar the king’s kinsman spoke thus: “ It thinks us that then alone thou wilt show bounden duty to the king when thou layest aside thy robes and fallest at the king’s feet, and givest thyself and all thy suit unto the king’s power and mercy.” Then the earl answers: “ I learnt then to serve lords, Gunnar, when thou didst other work.”

The king  
goes into  
the church  
with his  
men, and  
the earl  
is left  
alone with  
his band.  
The arch-  
bishop  
arranges a  
settlement,  
but there  
is no con-  
fidence  
between  
them.

After that the king stood up and bade then all men to go into the church with him who were willing to serve him. Then he went from the meeting and all the people with him. But the earl stood behind, and that force which had followed him from the north. Then he went to his ships. After that the archbishop came between them and the other bishops, and got them atoned in the way the king liked, and the earl gave pledges to that. As Olaf white-skald sang:

The princes young a meeting called  
On the spot, earl answered king;  
The barons then brought cruel charges  
Bent on strife against the earl.



The earl, great forwarder of glory  
Laid all his case on the king's knees,  
And he who dipped his brand in blood  
Got peace at once, that noble earl.

A.D. 1233  
-1234.

The archbishop got so far on with his intercession that these things went more happily with that father and son-in-law in outward show, and each was at the other's banquets. But those men have said who are thought to have known the turn of mind of each that never since was there full trust between them.

178. Earl Skuli fared in the autumn north to Drontheim, but the king was behind in Bergen, and sat there that winter up over Yule. And this was the seventeenth winter of his reign. That winter was born lady Christine, the king's daughter. After Yule towards Lent king Hacon fared north into Sogn, and thence up into the land. And when he came to the Uplands a disagreement arose between him and bishop Paul of Hammar. The first cause was that the king made a claim to that isle which lies in Mjösen and is called Holy Isle. This isle Ingi, whom the Croziermen called their king, had given to the see at Hammar; but the Birchshanks called him a sham king, and said his name was Thorgils mound-shitter, and was a Dane. Now king Hacon thought he had no right to give away his inheritance. But the bishop refused crossly to let go the isle. King Hacon fared east to Tunsberg, and was there that spring. Bishop Paul wrote north to the archbishop and earl Skuli about this claim which the king had made against him, and sought counsel in this matter. And from this message it was advised that bishop Paul should set off on a journey out of the land; and he fared first east into Gothland, and thence into Denmark, and so south into Saxony; and did not stay his course till he came into the presence of the pope.

The king stays in Bergen over Yule, and the earl goes back to Drontheim. After Yule the king goes to the Uplands by way of Sogn. His dispute with the bishop of Hammar.

179. When king Hacon sate in Tunsberg in the spring he made them throw a great stone wall round

King Hacon builds a stone

A.D. 1234  
-1235.

wall round  
the Berg.  
He returns  
to Bergen,  
and meets  
the earl.

Death of  
his mother  
Inga.

Sturla  
Sighvat's  
son comes  
to the king  
at Tuns-  
berg.

The cost  
of bringing  
Iceland  
under the  
rule of one  
man.

the Berg, and there he let them build the king's house. And he made them lay down a big ship which he called Olafs-Clinker. King Hacon stayed in the Bay some time; and fared in the summer north to Bergen. Then the earl came from the north and they were both together that summer, and all went well with them, as it always was when they were both together. But though they treated one another with kindness, still their foes so passed between them that they all but quarrelled as soon as they were little while together, as was afterwards proved. Lady Inga, the mother of king Hacon, was with him; and the king was very kind to her, as ought to be. She had a great sickness, and the course of her sickness got worse and worse; and she breathed her last before Yule-feast in the winter. Earl Skuli fared north in the autumn to Drontheim; but the king fared east to the Bay, and sat that winter in Oslo. This was the eighteenth winter of his reign.

180. In the Shark-autumn came from abroad out of Iceland Sturla Sighvat's son, and fared at once away out of the land in the winter to the pope. He came back the same autumn, and found king Hacon in Tunsberg. The king had Sturla at his banquets by him, and spoke with him of many things. The king was ill-pleased when Sturla told him of great strife in Iceland. The king asked how much it would cost to bring about the rule of one man in the land; and said that there would then be better peace if one man had most power. Sturla took this lightly, and said little would stand in the way if he that laid his hand to the work were hard-working and wise. The king asked whether he would take up that design. He said he would run the risk by the king's counsel and leadership, and that he would look for such honour from the king in return as he thought worthy if he could get this brought about.

The king spoke thus; he was not to win the land by manslaughter; but bade him seize men and send them out of the land, or get their power in some other way if he could. Sturla was often with the king that winter, and they spoke of that matter. But the summer after, when king Hacon had sat through the winter, Sturla fared to Iceland, and was at Grund with his father that winter. But Orækja Snorri's son, his brother's son, had made much strife in his possessions while he was abroad. And in the summer, when Sturla had been one winter in Iceland, then that father and son, he and Sighvat, marched against Snorri with a great company, and wanted him to make amends for the misdeeds which his son Orækja had done. Snorri would not gather men together against his brother. But Thord, their brother, came between them, and yet could not set them at one again. Then Snorri fled away. But Sturla set up his abode at Reykjaholt, and took into his hands all that belonged to Snorri. After that Sturla fared into the West Firths against Orækja, and there they were made friends, so to speak; but it lasted only a little while. And there is no good to tell of their quarrels here. But this was the end of them, that Orækja went abroad that summer by the counsel of bishop Magnus of Skalholt. After that Sturla fared against Thorleif of Gardar, and fought with him at Bæ in Borgar firth. He then got Thorleif into his power, and he went out of the country in the summer later than Orækja. Then too went abroad Snorri Sturla's son, and Thord kakali, and Olaf white-skald, son of Thord Sturla's son. But Sturla then turned strife against Gizur Thorvald's son, and Kolbein the young, the son of Arnor, his kinsmen; and their quarrels went as shall be told afterwards.

A.D. 1235  
-1238.  
The quar-  
rels be-  
tween the  
Sturlungs  
in Iceland.

A.D. 1235. 181. King Hacon sat that winter in Oslo, as was said before. Then again sprang up many differences between him and the earl, and that again arose out of the interference of the same men who were ever wont to spoil their friendship. King Hacon wrote north in the spring to the earl, and bound him to a meeting with him in the summer at Bergen to talk over those differences which were between them. And when this message came to the earl, he held council with his friends, whether he should go to the meeting to which he was summoned or not; and pointed out to them that he thought he had been hard pressed in that Shark-autumn by the goading of the liegemen. "But it is told me that they will now be no less eager than they were then. And now those things have happened which ye wit of, which make me less willing to put myself in their power than I was before. For that Shark-autumn when we met at Bergen, those from the east were with us, Arnbjorn John's son and Gregorius lord Andrew's son; and they became handbound to the king, and swore the guardsman's oath to the king alone. And the wording of that oath was very different from that which all men had before sworn to both of us. So also did Brynjolf John steel's son; and many other men have sworn that oath, and I trust those men worse than those who have taken an oath to both of us. They have both great bands, Gregorius and Brynjolf." The earl found more things which made him speak against setting out. But still there were more of his friends who were anxious for it, and that was settled. Then the earl busked him for his voyage. Then he sent word to the liegemen, who were there north; but he was very late boun. He had near twenty ships. He sailed south to Mæren, and lay long that autumn in Steinavoe.

Fresh differences between the king and the earl.

The king calls on the earl to meet him at Bergen, and the earl, against his will, consents.



King Hacon busked him out of the Bay, and drew together a great force. He had with him many liegemen who were then there. Then he made them launch Olaf's clinker, which he let them build in Tunsberg. She was a nine-and-twenty-bencher, a very fine ship. When the king came to Gula-Thing-law, he called out men from all the provinces, and summoned them to meet him at Bergen. Then he sent north to Drontheim Clement of Holm, and he was to go to the Frosta-Thing, and say that king Hacon meant to come north to Drontheim in the autumn, if the earl did not come to meet him. When the autumn wore on king Hacon sailed out of Bergen, and had near forty ships, and all big. These liegemen were with the king: Arnbjorn John's son, Lodin Gunni's son, Simon kine, Halvard downright, Eric stalk, Ivar nosy, Gaut of Mel, Nicholas Paul's son, Peter of Giski, and many other men of rank. The king had both a great and a picked force. Earl Skuli lay in Steinavoe, as was before written. There came to meet him Paul barrowpole from the north out of Helgeland. Then the earl received that news that king Hacon had drawn together a great force, and meant to go north to Drontheim. Then the earl had meetings with his men, to know whether he should go south to meet the king, or turn back north to Drontheim. But Paul, and more besides, were eager that he should go to the king; and said it would then turn out for the best, if they met. But there were some on whom the earl put trust who spoke against it, and said it were wiser to turn north to his foster-brothers. "And there wait for the king if he should show himself." So that was settled that the earl should turn back on his course to Nidaros. Then the earl summoned horses to him and set off on his journey by land up the country. But Paul barrowpole and more besides were against that course, and begged him to wait for the king.

A.D. 1235.  
King Hacon comes from the Bay to Bergen with a great force of ships and men, and sends word that he will afterwards go to Drontheim. The earl withdraws his consent.

A.D. 1235. It was agreed that Paul should go south to meet the king in Mæren, and he met the king's fleet at Solskel; but could not see the king there, for the king was then ready to sail, and so they all sailed north together to Drontheim. But when they came into Leirangr Paul came before the king, and the king took his message well, and said he weened all would go well, if he and the earl met.

The king  
sails from  
Dron-  
heim, and  
the earl  
rides south  
across the  
fells.

182. That night when the king lay in Leirangr earl Skuli was at Middlehouse, and rode thence out to Orkadale, and purposed to go south across the fell. He had then a large and picked force. When he came up to Orknar bridge many of his friends and handbound men parted from him, both guardsmen and trencher-swains; but some (left him) at Updalewood. These parted from him: Ondott squeaklock and Elja-Bjarni, Reidar down, and many others, who were before called the earl's champions. Then this song was made:—

Many of  
his men  
part from  
him.

Skuli's liegemen bragged and boasted,  
Little stirred while full were bellies,  
The Danish champions drank and started  
Marching light o'er fell and forest;  
Eftsoons empty bellies murmured,  
Men fell off beneath the banners  
Oaths were broke to Ingi's brother,  
No man would him follow longer.

Olaf whiteskald says thus:—

The busy friends of each brought forward  
The grudges old between them both  
They said that there was hardly kept  
The prince's promise to the king;  
The watchful king brought from the south  
His sea-steeds, while the earl fled east  
Across the fells with faithful men,  
Force failed the noble prince at last.

183. King Hacon came into Nidaros. He was then told that the earl had ridden away. He sent after the earl by the counsel of his friends, Paul barrow-

pole and Ivar nosy, and they found him in Updale, A.D. 1235. and told him that the king wished him to turn back, and settle the matters between them; and both sit together in Drontheim that winter. Then the earl had a talk with his men, and most of them were eager that he should turn back; but some there were who called it foolish to change one's plan so quickly. The earl answers: "I see that it would be wiser to "turn back; but they must have their way who "egg me on to go south." After that he turned up to the fell, and so south across the fell. When Hacon's stewards who were in the Uplands heard that the earl was come from the north, then they took all the ships that were on Mjösen and eleven companies of chiefs went on board them. But these were their leaders: Gregorius John's son, lord Andrew, Havard of Sundby, Aslak buttercoat, John kitten, Amundi of Foalfield, Dag of Grovo, Odd Eric's son, and Saxi bladespear; and they had very full bands. Earl Skuli marched till he came into Heidmark at Hammar-chipping, and there he stayed a while with all his men.

The king sends after the earl and begs him to come to Nidaros. By bad advice the earl refuses and fares to the Uplands.

184. When Paul barrowpole and Ivar nosy came back to the king and told him of the earl's doings; then the king had a talk with archbishop Sigurd and his councillors, and sought counsel of them in what way he should proceed next. Men thought things had come to a strange pass when the earl had gone south across the fell with a great force into that realm which belonged to the king alone. The archbishop begged the king to give out some plan so that peace might stand that winter. Then the king, with the advice of the archbishop and others of his friends, took that plan that he sent south after the earl Bjorn abbot of Holm and Ivar of Skedjahof and Vilmund the lad and men with them; and bade them so say to the earl that he

The king and the archbishop consult as to what was to be done.

A.D. 1235. should that winter have a third of all the stewardships all over the Uplands and the Bay, and in that way peace might stand till the friends of both could come between them. The abbot and his companions came into Heidmark, and sent men to the stewards, and told them the king's message, and bade them not to break the peace before they knew how the earl would take their errand. But when the abbot came to Hammar, then the earl had sent Nicholas of Moi, his trencher-swain, up into Heidmark to seize there all the king's dues. The stewards had got wind of that, and meant to march against Nicholas. And if the abbot and his companions had come two nights later, then the peace would have been broken between the earl and the king's men. The abbot found the earl at Hammar and told him the king's bidding. And the earl then took wise counsel in that he agreed to those terms which the king had offered, and gave his word to keep the peace until their friends could come between them. After that the abbot and his companions turned back north, but some of their fellows fared down into the Bay on the king's business. Earl Skuli filled a third part of all the stewardships in the Uplands and so also in the Bay. He put into the Borg-stewardship Arni tail and Finn ball. After that the earl went out to Oslo, and thence to Tunsberg; and the king's men met him there who had come from the north with the abbot.

The abbot of Holm and others are sent south to offer the earl terms for that winter.

The earl accepts them.

King Hacon gives his stewards and the liegemen from the Bay leave to go home to guard his realm if the earl raised any strife.

185. When king Hacon sent abbot Bjorn from Nidaros to find the earl, he let Arnbjorn John's son and all the liegemen who were from the Bay go home, and bade them to guard his realm if the earl raised any strife in the Bay; and Arnbjorn John's son was to lead them, and he bade them back him to the best of their power if there were any need of it. They had a fair wind, and they came into the



Bay a little later than the earl; and ran in there into A.D. 1235. Grindholm-sound when he was in Tunsberg. Earl Skuli wanted then to have sent to them those men whom the king had sent from the north with the abbot, and bade them summon to him and to Tunsberg the liegemen; but they said that the king had so laid it down that Eric stalk should see the earl, and that he was the bearer of the king's letters, and not the other liegemen. When the liegemen heard that the earl was going on in peace, then they parted in Grindholm sound, and each went to his stewardship; but Eric went to the earl with the king's letters. And when Arnbjorn came home to Valdis-holm, he sent word to the stewards whom the earl had set up there, and bade them be off; and said that he would share the Borg-stewardship with no man before he heard the king's words that he should give it up. The earl's men went to the earl and told him Arnbjorn's words. The king's messengers who were in Tunsberg took much money out of Laurence church, which the king owned, so that the earl knew nothing of it, and carried it north to the king. They came to Nidaros on Yule-eve, and told the king such tidings as they had heard in the Bay. The king's friends had so said, those who came from the east, that there were many with the earl who egged him on to strife against the king, and that he should no longer be driven out of his estates and heritage; and they thought they could not tell whether peace would be kept or not. Earl Skuli went after Yule south to the Elf, and stayed there a long while at the King's Crag. Thither came to him many men, and became handbound to him. There came to him Alf of Leifsteads with some followers, and Thorgils hump, and most of them became handbound to him. Veseti the young, and Algauti his brother came first to the earl. These men who then became handbound to him

The earl goes on quietly at first, but afterwards plots against the king.

Arnbjorn refuses to obey him.

A.D. 1235 the Birchshanks called "Wolfskins." Alf had before  
-1236. been Arnbjorn's housecarl. These were very eager with the earl that he should begin strife, and not let king Hacon sit in his brother's inheritance. The earl yielded too much to their persuasions, as was found afterwards.

Abbot King Hacon sat the winter over in Drontheim. And this was the nineteenth winter of his reign. Archbishop Sigurd still begged the king to send some message to the earl that the peace might stand; for the archbishop thought he had found out that it had come very near to strife in the Bay. After that were sent to see the earl, abbot Bjorn and Vilmund the lad with offers of peace. King Hacon sent word to Munan the bishop's son and the stewards in the Uplands that they should go to Arnbjorn John's son, and should hold together until they knew what came of the abbot's errand to the earl. The abbot found the earl east at the King's Crag in the spring at Lent, and brought out his errand, and many friends of both of them backed that with the earl. And then the earl's mind began to waver; but ere they came the danger was all but come that the earl would begin strife.

186. Earl Skuli went from the east from the King's Crag when Lent was past. He sent word before him to Arnbjorn John's son that he should come to meet him, and that they should have a meeting at a place called Eidsberg. Arnbjorn came to the meeting, and along with him Eric stalk and Munan bishop's son and many other stewards of the Uplands. They had well three hundred men, and all well arrayed, and they came to Eidsberg before the earl, and sat down without under the churchyard. Arnbjorn had said this that they would fight with the earl first, sooner than yield him those things which would be unworthy. Earl Skuli came to the meeting, and had three hundred and fifty men, but that force was not as well arrayed

Abbot  
Bjorn finds  
the earl at  
King's  
Crag, and  
the earl  
wavers.

Earl Skuli  
has a meet-  
ing with  
Arnbjorn  
John's son  
at Eids-  
berg.

as that which they met. The earl had a white felt hat on his head, and sat on a fine horse. Arnbjorn had so settled it with his men that he alone should answer all the earl's claims. When the meeting had lasted a short while the earl began to speak: "Why, Arnbjorn, didst thou drive my stewards out of the Borg-stewardship whom I had set up in that third which the king had allotted me to have this winter." "Because," said Arnbjorn, "I am steadfast in this, to let nothing go of that fief which the king has bestowed on me, before I knew for a surety that the king meant to take it from me." Then the earl answers: "Tookest thou not from me the Borg-stewardship at first and haddest half a share? And thou promisest me good for it, however thou mayst have ended." That was true," said Arnbjorn. The earl went on: "King Hacon was no less king then than now, though now he has thriven more; and I esteem his words no less now than then as to these fiefs which he has granted me. But though thou art above other men in Norway, still all think it insolence to hold back from me what the king has agreed that I should have." "True is that," answers Arnbjorn; "I ween that no liegeman shall take from me what king Hacon gives me. And I mean to bow my head before no man save before king Hacon; but not before that white hat which is now here at this meeting." Then abbot Bjorn spoke, and said that he had that letter there as to which king Hacon had so laid it down that those two alone should hear it read, the earl and Arnbjorn; and begged that they would go into the church and talk it over there. And when they came into the church, then the abbot told those messages which the king had sent by him, both to Arnbjorn and other leaders; and said that the king willed that all should take part in bringing about an agreement between his father-in-law and himself. He said that the king

A.D. 1236.

The earl  
and Arn-  
bjorn dis-  
pute.

Arnbjorn's  
proud  
answer.

The abbot  
produces  
a letter to  
be read  
only to the  
earl and  
Arnbjorn,  
exhorting  
all to make  
peace be-  
tween him  
and the  
earl.

A.D. 1236. had of a truth given up a third of his stewardships in the Uplands and the Bay to the earl for his expenses in the winter. After that Arnbjorn began to change his tone; and thenceforth all went pleasantly with them, for earl Skuli took under him a third of the Borg-stewardship. Then the earl went north into the Bay. Abbot Bjorn and his companions then go north to the king with the terms of peace. Then that was settled that they should meet in the summer at Bergen, and each should give the other hostages towards that meeting.

Then peace is made for the time, and the abbot returns to the king.

Earl Skuli raises force and seizes ships.

187. Earl Skuli was in the Bay that summer, and many men then became handbound to him. Then he drew a large force to himself. He looked out then for ships, and took ships from the freemen without their leave and fitted them out for the north. He held the Borg-Thing in the summer on Margaret's-mass. Then he made them seize a ship of Arnbjorn John's son, and meant to take it north, but Arnbjorn had made them bore holes in the ship and hew the wooden timbers in 'two, and she filled as soon as she was afloat. And after that she was laid up on shore again.

Hostages are exchanged between the king and earl.

At that time came north from the king his son Sigurd and Ingimund girdle as hostages to the earl. But Asolf the earl's kinsman and Edgar skald had before gone to the king in hostage. And when the earl was boun he sailed north to Bergen, and lay in the king's haven. Then men came between them. And the earl said that he would not run into the town unless it was settled as to that share of the land which had been allotted him, that his son Peter should take it after his death. But when this was brought before the king, then he said "nay" to it outright, and said thus, that never should his (the earl's) offspring inherit Norway save that which was sprung from queen Margaret. After that men came between



them. There was archbishop Sigurd, and he had most share in setting them at one. Then the earl rowed into the town, and there meetings were held, and then the settlement was brought about by the advice of the archbishop and the prayers of other good men. Then that was agreed that they should both spend that winter in Bergen, and keep one board in this wise, that the earl was to find the fare every third day. That winter all their dealings passed off well, as ever when they were both together, for then fewer lies were borne between them when they had such short space to spread, so that they might disprove them themselves.—That summer came Orækja Snorri's son from Iceland, and told of great strife there from his kinsman Sturla, and the king looked at it so, as if Sturla had been harder in his dealings than he had advised him to be.

A.D. 1236,  
summer.

An agree-  
ment is  
brought  
about by  
the arch-  
bishop, and  
the king  
and the  
earl pass  
the winter  
in Bergen.

188. This was the twentieth winter of his reign when he and the earl both sat together in Bergen. They made ready to sail in the spring after in Lent north to Drontheim, and the king sailed off Stad on the eve of the fifth Sunday in Lent, and the weather fell so foul that he had to run into Angr. But the earl sailed on Sunday out of Sild, and got such a rattling breeze that he ran in north at Sondolfsstead. He sat at Rein at Easter. The king was late in getting a fair wind; he came to Nidaros about Easter, and he and the earl met there after Easter, and were both in the Chipping in the spring. Then word was sent to bishop Paul at Hammar, with the advice of archbishop Sigurd, that he should come north to a peace-making with king Hacon. And when the bishop came north meetings were had in the matter between the king and the bishop, and the peacemaking was slow in coming about. The bishop was always harder to deal with at those meetings at which the earl was. But it came about at last that they were set at one again in this wise, that

A.D. 1236  
-1237.

In the  
spring  
during  
Lent they  
both sail  
for Dront-  
heim.

An agree-  
ment made  
between  
the king  
and the  
bishop of  
Hammar.

A.D. 1237. the king took the isle and gave other estates instead of it to the see which the king was willing to grant, and the bishop ready to take.

A false alarm.

In the spring there was a little matter in Drontheim from which might be seen how near mischief-makers stood in their dealings to the king and earl. But it happened in this way, that then Gunnar the king's kinsman was with the king. He had had a quarrel with the guests of the earl, and they were thought to have been hardly treated by him. But a little after Gunnar went out to Ness, and meant to go to that stewardship which the king had given him. But on the night that Gunnar had gone away it was told the king that Gunnar was slain, and that the earl had sent his guests and killed him. The king bade them call at once his horn-swain, and clad himself, and all ran to arms. The king's men went out into the yard and set up his standard. The earl slept in another house hard by. He woke at the crash, and jumped up and went out into the gallery. He saw that the queen stood out there in the yard. The earl asked her what all that meant. She told him what had happened. The earl bade her be easy, and said no harm would come of it. Then the earl put on his clothes. Then came Sigurd the king's son into his lodging to him, and then they both went out. Then it had been made plain that this was nothing but lies and false rumours of wicked men.

King Hacon grants earl Skuli the title of duke.

190. That same spring king Hacon held a Thing at the Eres, and a great crowd came thither, and at that Thing he added to the honours of earl Skuli, and gave him the title of duke. That title no man had held before in Norway. Of this sang Olaf white-skald :—

Good men came between those kinsmen,  
Pledges past on either side ;  
The princes met and friends were busy  
To build between them better peace ;

He of Norway land the keeper,  
 Blessed with sons, increased the rank  
 Of war-swift Skuli with a dukedom,  
 And gave him precious gifts beside.

A.D. 1237.

With this title the king gave the earl many worthy gifts. And then began a new and kindly feeling between that father and son-in-law.

Friendship  
 between  
 the em-  
 peror  
 Frederick  
 and king  
 Hacon.

191. When they ruled over Norway, king Hacon and duke Skuli, then Frederick, the grandson of the emperor Frederick, was emperor over the Roman empire; he was a great and noble prince. At that time many noble princes from other lands did him homage. The emperor sent men north to Norway to visit king Hacon and duke Skuli. This was a long time before that of which we are now telling. His name was William who was their leader. They offered the king and the duke many presents; but they sent in return those things which were hard to get for the emperor, and were thought treasures in his land. After that missions began between the emperor and king Hacon. First of all went Gudleik of Ask on the king's behalf, and found the emperor in Sicily; and the emperor received him well. After that went Nicholas Paul's son, and was long at the emperor's court, and took of him great honours. And no man of the Northmen was so well received at that time as he was. Somewhat later than this they went out, Roi the king's kinsman and Bard the brother of Isaac of By; Bard went on the earl's behalf, and Roi thought he did not tell with discernment or truthfulness of the dealings between king Hacon and duke Skuli. After that went that man mostly between the emperor and king Hacon whose name was Henry; he was bred up in Norway, but a German by stock; he was called messenger Henry. He went on many errands between them

A.D. 1237. with splendid keepsakes. From this arose the best friendship between the emperor and king Hacon.

Bard  
carries off  
Thord's  
wife.

192. In the spring when they sate in Drontheim, king Hacon and duke Skuli, then these held the stewardship up in Heidmark on behalf of the duke, Bard Isaac's brother and Hacon dove, for the land was then so shared that the duke had a third of all stewardships all over Norway. There arose an evil event in this way, that Bard took a woman against her will; but she was the lawful wife of Thord, the son of Frederick slobberer, who all his life had been bosom friend of king Hacon. But in league and knowledge with Bard had been Hacon dove. That they, king Hacon and duke Skuli, heard north in Drontheim, and were ill pleased at it, as was to be looked for; and the duke had no fewer words about it openly than the king.

Brawls at  
Bergen  
between  
the towns-  
men and  
merchants  
from the  
south.

193. King Hacon and duke Skuli made ready to sail in the summer south to Bergen. But before they sailed the king sent John provost's son up the country, and some men with him, and they were to go east by the land way. And when they were boun, the king and the duke, they sailed south to Bergen. But before they came south the townsmen had given the Southerners a great blow, and slain some, and driven some overboard, and many were wounded. The reason of it was that the Southerners had laid their cogs alongside the wharfs where it was displeasing to the townsmen, and fouled some ships which lay off the gangways. And when king Hacon came to the town he set this difficulty to rights. John provost's son fared up into the land. But when he came to Heidmark there he met on Mjösen Bard Isaac's brother, as he lay on board ship. They laid hands on him then and there, and slew him, and went afterwards east into the Bay. That same summer



Thord Frederick's son slew Hacon dove in Tunsberg for that harm which he and Bard had done. Those tidings came to the king and the duke; the duke showed that he took it ill; and men held it for certain that the cutting off of these men was much against his mind.

A.D. 1237  
-1238.  
Bard and  
Hacon  
dove cut  
off.

194. In the summer, as it wore away, the king and duke made ready to sail out of Bergen east into the Bay. And when they came to Oslo they made ready to sit there that winter. They both kept Yule together that winter. And this winter was the twenty-first of the reign of king Hacon. But after Yule each of them held his own inn for his people, but they still drank together in the evenings. That summer earlier had come abroad out of Iceland Snorri Sturla's son, Thord kakali, Thorleif of Gardar, and Olaf white-skald, and were in Drontheim. Duke Skuli busked him north to Drontheim in the spring, and went north in Lent. All went well then with that father and son-in-law when they parted, and it was settled that they should meet in the summer at Bergen; for they saw very well that things always went better with them when they were both together. The duke came north before Easter, and sat in Drontheim in the spring and beginning of summer. Those kinsmen, duke Skuli and Asolf of East-airt, came to variance, and they quarrelled about the estates of East-airt; for lady Sigrid the abbess, the duke's sister, whom John of East-airt had had to wife, called that her dower, but Asolf called it the inheritance of his wife Baugeid, the daughter of John. Here were held many meetings, but they could not come to terms. Asolf offered to lay down other estates to the nunnery at Rein, and the duke did not say "nay" to that. But still their friendship parted at this, and Asolf turned in his allegiance after that to king Hacon. King Hacon sat that winter in Tunsberg. Then was

The king  
and duke  
at Oslo,  
where they  
kept Yule.

In the  
spring the  
duke went  
to Dront-  
heim.

King Ha-  
con in  
Tunsberg  
that winter.

A.D. 1238 born Magnus his son and was christened at Holy  
-1239. Cross-mass. After that the king went north to Bergen,

The king and duke in Bergen, and all went fairly with them, but still not so well as when they were kindest to each other. The duke always lay on board his ships. He busked him to sail north at the beginning of winter, but was not "boun" before Martinmass. There was a man named Roald, brother of Asolf stroke; he had fallen under the king's wrath for the sake of his unruliness; the king did not wish that he should be in the land. He was then in Bergen, and lay always in the church. There was another man named Sigurd car; he had

The duke carries off to Drontheim two men who were under the king's ban. slain a man in Helgeland and done other mischief besides. He sat in Christ's Church, for he dared not be outside for the king and his men. The duke went out round Christ Church before he rowed out of the town. Then Sigurd came out of the church, and went out on board the duke's ship along with him. Then too Hroald had got on board; and they both sailed away with him, and were both afterwards with the duke. When the duke came north to Drontheim, men talked much about this, that king Hacon's liegemen had done their best to spoil matters between him and the duke, and laid most of the blame at Gaut John's son's door. The duke one day asked Snorri Sturla's son in sport: "Is it true," said he, "what you say that

Snorri Sturlason's verses on Gaut. "Odin, who set the kings of old at one another, was "called Gaut by another name?" "True is that, lord," says Snorri. "Make a verse on that now," says the duke, "and say how much this was to their liking." Then Snorri sang this:

The charm-creator<sup>1</sup> called to war  
Ring and Wartusk rival kings,  
Gaut stirred up that rush of strife,  
Odin-Gaut I meant to say ;

---

<sup>1</sup> Odin.

But the warrior duke might well  
 Quash his sentence and make peace,  
 And be fooled by Gaut no more.

A.D. 1238  
 -1239.

Then much was said by the duke's men from which it was evident that things had come into another shape than ought to be, and most on account of the king's friends.

195. King Hacon sat that winter in Bergen. This was the twenty-first winter of his reign. He sent word in the winter north to the duke that they should meet in the summer at Bergen; and begged him to sail from the north in light ships, and not worry the freemen to this voyage. The king bade the men from Iceland, who were there with the duke, not to sail out before they had made up their minds on what errand they should sail to Iceland; for before that in the autumn they had heard that Kolbein the young and Gizur had fought in Skagafirth with the Sturlungs, and that the Sturlungs had fallen. King Hacon sailed in the spring east into the Bay and stayed a long time in Tunsberg. Thither his friends came to him both from the Bay and the Uplands. Then the king got news both from the north of the land and from the south. He heard that the duke had given Snorri and his son Orækja and Thorleif leave to go to Iceland, and given them a ship, half of which he owned and half Gudleik of Skartstead. As soon as the king was ware of this he sent letters north and forbade their going. These letters came to them as they lay ready for sea. And they sailed nevertheless under the king's ban.

The king  
 invites the  
 duke to  
 meet him  
 at Bergen.

The Ice-  
 landers at  
 Drontheim  
 sail home  
 by the  
 duke's  
 leave under  
 the king's  
 ban.

When king Hacon sat in Tunsberg abbot Bjorn came from the north from the duke, sent by him. Then the king asked whether the duke were coming from the north to meet him. The abbot said he would surely come, as the king had sent him word. Then it was asked, with how many men he would come. He said that would be according as the king

A.D. 1239. had said. The abbot stayed long with the king while those letters were being drawn up which the king was to send north. And when the abbot was ready to start goodman Asolf of East-airt came from the north out of Drontheim on board a ship with his house-carles; and told these tidings, that the duke had launched his long-ships, Good Friday and Holmbuss and Strindkoll, and many big ships. Asolf said the duke had made a great levy, and the saying went that he would go to Bergen; and not have the second place in everything, whatever happened. Now the departure of the abbot was stayed; for other letters were written for him than those which had already been drawn up.

Abbot  
Bjorn's  
mission  
from the  
duke to  
the king.

The duke  
gathers a  
great force  
of ships  
and men.  
The king  
increases  
his levies  
in the Bay,  
and sails  
north in  
great  
force.

Then king Hæcon sent word to Arnbjorn John's son and the other liegemen, and let them be told that the duke was drawing together a great force at Drontheim. Then the king increased his levy greatly; he summoned to him all his liegemen and stewards; then a great host gathered together. Then the king set out on his voyage north. Duke Skuli set out on his voyage from the north out of Drontheim, and had from the north twenty ships and almost all big. He himself had Good Friday, and she was a six-and-thirty-bencher, and the most gallant of all ships. The duke had a great force of picked and well-armed men. So sang Olaf white-skald:—

Now it is that loosed from moorings  
Floats the good ship of the duke,  
Never better sea-horse galloped  
On that weather-swollen sea.

He came to Bergen in the summer and lay in Floravoe with his host. Then he heard those tidings that king Hæcon was starting from the Bay with a very great force, and had with him all his liegemen; and it was also told him that the king would have forty ships. The duke held meetings with his men,



whether he should wait for the king, or they should sail away from him north; for they had their doubts that the king would not like their behaviour. Then that plan was taken that they should not await the king, and turned north with all the host.

A.D. 1239.  
The duke comes first to Bergen and sails north again without waiting for the king.

196. King Hacon came to Bergen a little after the duke had gone north, and there found archbishop Sigurd and the duke's messengers, abbot Bjorn and Edgar skald. The archbishop said this, that men thought matters had got to a hopeless pass, unless the king could propose some good counsel. Then that counsel was taken that the archbishop should bring about a truce between them for that winter. On that the messengers went north. Then the archbishop took the king's commission in this matter, and the bishop wrote at once to the duke, and begged him not to break the peace until they met, whatever was done later on. The archbishop went on his business in the autumn south into Mæren. When king Hacon had stayed a while in Bergen, he gave his liegemen and stewards leave to go home, both those from the north and the east. These went north into their stewardships: Sigurd son of Peter the archbishop, Asolf of East-airt, Peter of Gizki, abbot Thorir, Ogmund crow-dance, Arni black; and it will be spoken again of them later.

The king comes to Bergen, and the archbishop proposes a truce for that winter.

197. The duke sailed north to Nidaros, and lay some three weeks on the way. And when he came north he let them lay up all the big ships. Then came all at once a great force to him down from the land and from the east from the Bay, according as he had sent word. But because he was put to great cost for the sake of the number of men, then he sent out writs of levy in to Drontheim, and called out the whole levy (of food). But the freemen thought they were not called on to undertake such burdens. King Hacon had also sent letters to the men of Inner

The duke stays at Nidaros, and lays great levies of food on the freemen.

A.D. 1239. Drontheim that they should not submit to greater imposts than he required of those who were under his rule. And because the duke's men got nothing by those levies; then the duke set out on a progress into Drontheim; he went on board his ships, but many captains of bands went by the land road with a great force. These were their leaders: Alf of Leifasteads, Veseti the little, and Algauti his brother. The duke ran his ships in by Voe-bridge, and the freemen paid him much money, some a mark of gold, some two, some all they had.

The duke takes counsel of his men as to making himself king, and summons the Eyra-Thing.

198. After this duke Skuli went into the town, and often had talk with his men and councillors. These liegemen were with him: Alf of Thornberg, Ivar of Sundby, Bard downright, Bard wolf, Olaf of Vigdeild, Erling sound-horn, Veseti the little, Clement father, and Guttorm of Sudrheim. The duke had ever talk with them about those things which came out afterwards, that he wished to let the title of king be given him. Sometimes he let them have their talk alone, and wished so to become sure as to what each of them advised. But there were two parties. Some egged him on to wrong, and said he had been robbed of his brother's inheritance, and that he ought to bear the title of king after king Ingi; but some spoke against that. He also often had talk with the Canons and sought counsel of them. And there were some who egged him on, and said that he had a right to it, though another bore the title of king; and read books to him which went to show that he had no less right to take the title of king as his heritage than his property and estates. The duke had always some one of the Canons by him. Now men had a rumour that he had some new counsel on his hands. His own mind agreed too much with those men who talked worthless stuff before him. And so along with his ambition and the

persuasion of his councillors, he let the Eyra-Thing be summoned; and sent word to the best freemen both of outer and inner Drontheim.

On the Sunday after All Hallows mass, that was St. Leonard's mass day, when the bells rang to mass, folk went up to Christ's church after their wont; and when the mass began, came master Berg into the church, the duke's clerk, and spied about as though he were about to get wind of some news. And when the gospels had been read, the duke came into the church, and much folk with him. He went at once up into the choir, and let the Canons be called to him. There was a break in the mass while they talked, and they could not come to an agreement all at once. Just then they heard the horns blowing in the town to call all the freemen and chapmen and all the people to the Eyra-Thing. Eystein sourwhey was the name of the canon who was set up to answer to those questions which were thought most difficult on behalf of the archbishop. Now the duke begged that the Canons would give leave that the shrine of the saint king Olaf should be borne out. They made a pause in answering; and thought they saw what was aimed at. The duke asked why they were so slow in giving an answer to his demand. They said that they thought they were running into a great difficulty, and said they wished to talk the matter over among themselves. Then they went south into the choir; and they could scarcely agree. We are also able to tell little else of their talk than that they bade the mass be chanted. The duke asked why they were so slow in giving him an answer in this matter. Sira Eystein begged that this matter might wait for the archbishop. But some of the brothers wished that the shrine should be borne out. The duke asked Eystein: "Why wilt thou ever

A.D. 1239,  
Nov. 6.

The duke  
and the  
Canons  
cannot  
quite  
agree.  
There is a  
break in  
the mass  
while they  
consult.

The duke  
demands  
that St.  
Olaf's  
shrine  
should be  
borne out  
of the  
church.

A.D. 1239. "withstand my business and our honour, and the  
 "will of the other Canons thy brothers?" After  
 that they went away from the choir and in to the  
 altar; but the duke went out of the church and into  
 the king's house; but his son Peter was behind in the  
 church, and Arnfinn Thief's son, and many other men.  
 They came up and wished to take down the shrine.  
 But when sira Eystein saw that he went before the  
 high altar and said: "Our will is that all men should  
 "know that we proclaim all those men under our  
 "ban who bear out the shrine without the consent  
 "of us brothers." Peter answers: "It seems to us as  
 "though you were bidding us to a mead-drinking; so  
 "good luck go with your words. Now take down  
 "the shrine and bear it out." They laid their hands  
 on it, but it was fast. Peter jumped up on the altar  
 and thrust his knees against the shrine, and so got  
 the shrine out of its place. After that they took the  
 hangings, and arranged them in the customary way.  
 Then was also borne out the cross in which was  
*lignum Domini*, and the axe and spear of the saint  
 king Olaf; and the foremost at this were Peter the  
 duke's son and Arnfinn Thief's son, but most of the  
 others were rather downcast.

Some of  
 the Canons  
 protest,  
 but Peter,  
 the Duke's  
 son, takes  
 the shrine  
 down, and  
 it is borne  
 out.

199. Now these halidoms were borne out and down  
 the street to the king's house; then the duke came  
 to meet it with all his bodyguard armed to the  
 teeth; and so they marched to the Eyra-Thing. That  
 man first stood up whose name was Amundi cockscomb.  
 He greeted the duke and the bodyguard, and made a  
 long speech. After that Arnfinn Thief's son made a  
 speech, and men thought what he said was not very  
 truthful. After that Erling soundhorn stood up, and  
 spoke much after Arnfinn's lead; and the staple of  
 their speeches was that they reckoned the duke's  
 pedigree up to the saint king Olaf, and that he

The shrine  
 is borne  
 to the  
 Eyra-  
 Thing.



was heir in the next degree to his brother king Ingi, A.D. 1239. but Hacon in the eleventh; and in the same way went more of their speeches; they seemed truthful to few men save the duke's followers. Next after that stood up the duke himself, and said what great shame and dishonour he had had in return for his goodwill from Hacon; and that he had granted him both lands and thanes; but the king showed his gratitude now by wishing to take from him that third which it was intended he should have. Many other charges too he brought against the king. When the duke ended his speech, Ivar the lawman stood up, and reckoned up first the duke's pedigree. After that he so ended his speech by declaring that he alone was rightful heir to Norway, and there and then he gave him the title of king, and land and subjects, together with all the scatt-lands which belong to the king of Norway. And these words he ended with which were little gain to him, that he spoke thus because the matter pleased him best. After that Skuli stood up, who was then proclaimed king, and spoke a few words. After that he went to the shrine, and laid his hand on it, and swore an oath that he would keep saint Olaf's laws and justice as a good king ought to his subjects. Then he called forward his liegemen, and made them swear oaths of fealty to him, and after them his trencher-swains and bodyguard. Last of all the freemen out of all the provinces. And though few things are here said, still there were many which were worth telling. After the Thing was over Skuli followed the shrine back. No procession was made to meet it, and the bells were not rung. Two canons came to meet the shrine opposite to Olaf's church, and they attended Skuli. Men thought they saw less displeasure among the Canons than seemed to be looked for. And when this business was over, every man

The Thing is held, and the duke's followers speak.

Then the duke claims the kingship, and swears to keep St. Olaf's laws.

The duke is proclaimed king, and takes oaths of fealty from his followers.

A.D. 1239. went to his own home. But Skuli feasted his followers that day. So says Olaf whiteskald :—

Olaf white-  
skald's  
verses.

Treason was revealed at last  
Of mighty men and peace was broken,  
Princes cannot cope with fate  
Though aloud men call them wise.  
It brought great trouble on the people  
When their chiefs fought sword in hand ;  
For ever will their worth be valued  
While the sea begirds this land.

And again this :—

Quick as hawk the liegemen's ruler  
Took for his own a higher name ;  
Drontheim backed the well-tried chief  
Turmoil great rose up 'mong men.

Sturla says thus :—

Sturla's  
verses.

A famous man was Skuli, 'tis no lie !  
Famous in his lofty life ;  
Though whichever way he wended  
Fickle fortune turned against him.

And again :—

In evil hour the shield-reddener  
Raised rebellion past all bounds ;  
And when erst proud peer of kings  
The title took of " king " at Eyrar.

Grim back-  
bent, one  
of king  
Hacon's  
body-  
guard, car-  
ries the  
news to  
the king.

200. Few of king Hacon's bodyguard were in the town when the Thing was held, but fewer afterwards. Grim backbent was the name of one of king Hacon's bodyguard who was then in the town when the Thing was over. And when he thought he had spied out all the truth as to the duke's undertaking, he got him a horse and rode as fast as he could out into Gaulardale, where he had his abode ; and found there his messmate, who had made a bargain with him if they became aware of any new tidings that they should fare at once to find king Hacon and bring him news of those things of which they were sure as to the duke's undertakings. But now that man would not go. But Grim went nevertheless, and

came out in Surnadale, and so went to Thingvales, and found there goodman Asolf, and told him these tidings and bade him fare with him or beware of himself. After that he went on to Arni black, and brought him the news, and thence to Peter in Gizki and told him. A.D. 1239.

201. After that when duke Skuli had let the title of king be given him, then he called to him his liegemen and councillors, and asked what counsel pleased them best to take. Some gave that counsel that he should then at once sail south against the king with all his strength, so that no news might go before him; for all the ways were watched, both by sea and land. Some gave that counsel that he should fare up the country with all his force, and be there at the height of the winter. Some urged him that he should stay there in Drontheim, and make all the preparations he best could there till the spring began. Some there were still who gave this counsel that he should divide his force and send them from him in all quarters, and let them kill all the king's men whom they could lay hands on, whoever they might be. And that was chosen; for of this he was most eager. These captains of companies went north to Helgeland: Algauti, Paul pot, and Sigurd pack. These went to the Uplands: Ivar of Sundby, Alf of Leifasteads, Veseti the little, Gudini scarred, Sigurd Toli's son, Sigurd hot, Ulf gentle, and Eric goldwall, and they had five hundred men. These he sent south against the king: Olaf of Vigdeild and Guttorm of Sudrheim, and along with them guards and guests and candleswains, and the most part of the best force; but we will speak of them later.

202. King Hacon had sent before that in the autumn two of his bodyguard north to the duke with letters; the name of the one was Ivar corny, but the other's name was Gunnar mirman. They were both of them The duke kills two of the king's messengers.

A.D. 1239, serving-men, and had often gone on errands between the king and duke. But when they had handed the letter to the duke, they stayed there some nights in good cheer. But as soon as ever they got the duke's answer they busked them to go away, and were at the Duke's table that day, and he gave them leave to go and a hundred in woollen to keep the rain off their clothes. After that they went on their way out to Folksnar, and stayed there a while at the king's farm, and knew naught of any cause for fear.

The slaying of Gunnar and Ivar.

That day on which the duke let the title of king be given him he sent his letter-swains in a cutter out against Ivar and his companion; the leaders were Gaut wolfskin and Sigurd saltseed. They came un-awares to Folksnar and slew Gunnar at once inside in the room; there too fell more men with him. Ivar corny was out of doors in a loft, and got out through a window slit in his shirt and linen drawers, and made for the church, but it was locked. A ladder stood by the church, and he ran up the ladder and up on the church, and was there that night; but they threw themselves round about the church and watched it. In the morning when the dawn came Ivar was all but dead from cold. He begged for peace and got it not. After that a man went up the ladder and thrust him through with a spear. Then Ivar tumbled down off the roof and was dead; but his blood and entrails lay behind on the church. That was the third summer after king Hacon had let the church be consecrated. After that they went south

Other murders by the Wolfskins.

to Lioxna. There they found two brothers of the king's and duke's bodyguard; they were called the Lioxna-lads. They were inside the house in the room when the Wolfskins came. They attacked the room, but the others defended themselves well and manfully. The Wolfskins got up on the roof of the room and shot stakes at them. Those brothers wounded



some men of the Wolfskins, and one of them died. A.D. 1239. There fell those brothers with good fame. The Wolfskins robbed the house of everything, so that there was neither left meat nor drink nor clothing. After that they went in to the town and told the duke how they had fared on their errand.

203. Duke Skuli had got wind that Thorir of Borri, the brother of Vegard of Veradale had fared from the south from the king; but the duke had given the stewardship south in Mæren to Sigurd pertly and Eystein of Aurar. He bade them take Thorir's life, wherever they might find him. And when they fared out of Nidaros they heard of Thorir when they had come out to Fladki, for Thorir was just then come from the south; and they arranged their going so that Eystein went along the southern shore, but Sigurd turned out to the Red Hills. Thorir had gone along the northern shore, and meant to get home by the shortest way, and did not mean to come to the town. Sigurd met him by the Red Hills. Thorir thought it likely that there would be no good in asking for peace, and snatched at once at his weapons; but because the weapons were all tied up, then naught came of his defence. There fell Thorir and another man of the body-guard, whose name was Hedin. They beat the men much who were on the ship, and took the ship afterwards and all that was in her, and Thorberg Thorir's son, and went afterwards in to the town; and Thorberg got peace by the prayer of many men, and he was afterwards with duke Skuli. Archbishop Sigurd sailed in along Drontheim, and heard nothing about the Thing before he got to Leirangr; and it seemed things had got to a worse pass than he thought. He sent at once letters to king Hacon to tell him those tidings. But he himself fared in to the town.

More murders.

The archbishop comes to Nidaros and writes tidings to the king.

A.D. 1239. Duke Skuli sent men out from him, as was before written; and these men fared to Helgeland: Algauti fared the inner way by Eldu-eid; but Paul foot and Sigurd pattin fared the outer way on shipboard, and slew these men; first that man whose name was John, and another John the black in Bjorisle. Thence they fared to Torgar, and sacked it in spite of that man whose name was Ingjald, and seized his cutter. Thence they fared to Brunisles, and seized there another cutter. Thence to Tjolgarheim, and sacked it utterly in spite of John silk. But his housewife sent him word out to Veiga. But as soon as he heard that he went to Guttorm in Bjarkisle, but he had the stewardship on the king's behalf of the southern part of Helgeland, and they met in the Herisles. John told him such tidings as he had heard; but Guttorm would hardly believe them; and they both went on board one ship, and rowed to that farm which is called Sandness. But as they sat in the room in the evening there came in a spy of the Wolfskins; but they mistrusted him, and Guttorm gave him a blow with the back of his axe, and he made off thence. After that they went into the church, and meant to be there that night. But about nightfall came the Wolfskins, and threw a ring round the church, and bade them come out. Then the Wolfskins said that they would burn the church. Guttorm said there should be no need to do that. They promised him such peace as the saint king Olaf had set for Holy Church. And on that he went out. Paul foot took him at once by the hand. But when he came out of the church door he was there and then slain. John silk got out of the choir door, and ran out into the field east of the church, and was there slain. They took there much money and a thirteen-bencher which Guttorm had owned.

Skuli's  
murders  
in Helge-  
land.

After that they went out to Sanda and slew there a son of Paul dalk, Olaf dalk, and John brooch, men of the king's guard, and took there all they owned. Thence they went out to the Arnisles, and slew there Asbjorn neb in Middleby, the king's trencher-swain, and robbed it of all goods. Thence they went north to Salpti; there dwelt a man whose name was Einar priest, he was of the body-guard, but was not at home; but they plundered there much goods. Thence they went north to Leifness; there those men lived who were called Bolli's sons, and it saved their lives that they had sailed out to Skrofa that day. That same evening came thither the followers of Ivar Peter's son, Eric the white and Thord toothy. They were both slain. There too was wounded a chapman whose name was John smædri. They so treated the abode of the sons of Bolli, that they ran down their ship of burden, and laded her with all the goods which they had, except the cattle. They took there both linen and clothes, burnt silver wrought and unwrought, and much coin. The next day they went to Hamarisle, and meant to slay Hacon the red. They met a barge, and they told them that Hacon had got wind of strife. After that they went back to Leifness, and were there the night. But as soon as Hacon heard the news, then he sent round the arrow of war, and gathered force together, and they had seven cutters well-manned. But it was so told them that some robbers had come to Leifness and had sacked the goods of those brothers. In the morning in the dawn they came to Leifness. The Wolfskins had laden one cutter with their weapons. Hacon bade them row at them as manfully as they could. But when the Wolfskins heard that then Paul foot said: "Let us fly away! here come the "Salptdwellers, and mean to avenge Guttorm." Algauti had then come up, and he lay on the other

A.D. 1239.  
November.  
The Wolf-  
skins rob  
and murder  
in Helge-  
land.

Hacon  
the red  
gathers  
a force  
against  
them.

A.D. 1239. side of the ness on a thirteen-bencher, and there lay  
 Yule. the ship of burden of the sons of Bolli. Paul ran  
 The across the ness, and bade them cut the cables, and  
 Wolfskins return to said that all his messmates were slain. They took  
 to Nidaros, Paul into their ship, and rowed to Leifness; and  
 and duke Hacon and his companions were then gone. Then  
 Skuli puts them in messages passed between the Wolfskins and the sons  
 irons for of Bolli, and they made peace; and Ivar Bolli's son  
 sacrilege. of Bolli, and they made peace; and Ivar Bolli's son  
 was to go south with them to Nidaros; and they  
 came thither before Yule. The duke said it misliked  
 him that they had slain goodman Guttorm and John  
 silk out of Holy Church; and he made them be put  
 in irons. The duke seized the most part of the  
 money which they had brought from the north. Ivar  
 the son of Bolli came to terms with the duke, in  
 this wise, that he should pay twelve marks of gold  
 above that of which he had already been robbed, and  
 so he saved the lives of those brothers.

The 204. Alf of Leifasteads and his fellows marched up  
 Wolfskins expedition to the country as was purposed, and had five hundred  
 to the men. And when they came east across the Fell they  
 Uplands. slew Olaf Frida's son, and his son, and a man whose  
 name was Ivar. But news had come then to most of  
 the king's men, and they kept themselves in churches  
 or in the woods. And when they came east into  
 the Dales Sigurd Toli's son parted from them, and he  
 turned into East-dale, and slew there those men who  
 were called Leif's sons; but the other captains of  
 bands marched out to Oslo; and their leader was Bard  
 downright, the duke's liegeman. There were few of  
 the king's men there. The Wolfskins sent word to  
 Bard that as many as might be of the king's men  
 should be slain. But Bard behaved well in that, and  
 told what he had heard; and bade them look out for  
 themselves. Almost all of them went into the  
 church, and so kept themselves safe. The Wolfskins  
 came into the town in the night unawares, and slew



these men: Sigurd pattin, Grim the strong, Asolf, and six other men. After that the Wolfskins stayed in the town. But Veseti fared east into the Bay, and held himself there for a while; but he slew no men, for that he feared that a gathering would be made against him. The duke had sent from the north with Veseti an Icelandic priest to lord Canute, with the seal which his father earl Hacon had owned, and along with it a standard, and begged him to become his earl, about which he thought they had already said something. But lord Canute would not listen to that, and bade the priest be off. When Simon kine heard of Veseti, and lord Canute told him that the duke had raised strife against king Hacon, then Simon gathered men, and Veseti at Hellir with him, and marched against Veseti with fifty men, and found him at a farm called Solbjargir, and slew of him seven-and-twenty men. But Veseti got away, and fared east on to the Marches, and was there till the duke came east in the winter.

205. Now it must be told of those who were sent south against the king, Olaf of Vigdeild and Guttorm of Sudrheim. They were late in getting a wind, and the news spread far and wide before them; and they could catch no men; but they slew cattle far and wide, and did much mischief. And when they saw that they could not sail a straight course, then they scattered their force, and sailed into the firths where they knew they should meet the king's men. They came first to Dromuness; there dwelt Arni leathery and Eindridi, and they slaughtered there all the cattle. After that they turned in round the ness, and south along the sounds, and came to the house of Arni black, and took there all that they could lay their hands on; and so also from Ogmund the stout and Andrew in Sjaumeling. Thence they went south into Romsdale, and slaughtered everywhere the

A.D. 1239.  
November.  
The  
Wolfskins  
in Oslo.

Duke  
Skuli tries  
in vain to  
win over  
lord  
Canute.

The ex-  
pedition of  
Olaf of  
Vigdeild  
and Gut-  
torm of  
Sudrheim  
against  
king  
Hacon.

A.D. 1239. cattle of the king's men. But they laid hands no-November. where on the men, for they had all gone south away from them.

The king and the archbishop had written to the duke proposing a truce, and waited for an answer. Now we will make a halt here of the behaviour of the Wolfskins. But now we will speak of the king. When they had met in the autumn, king Hacon and archbishop Sigurd, then there had come messengers from the duke, abbot Bjorn and Jatgeir the skald and Soni trout. Then they took that counsel that a truce was set between the king and the duke for that winter. Then the archbishop laid down the truce, and laid those under his ban who did not keep it. Then the king wrote letters to the duke by the abbot, and bade him keep this truce, and to send the king word if he wished to do otherwise. But the king gave his liegemen leave to go home; but the king bade them go warily till they knew that the truce was kept. They went north by the outer way by sea, and did not ween of any strife. They were not aware of it, the Birchshanks, before the Wolfskins were behind them from the south; and then there was no choice of turning back. Ogmund crow-dance was to have the stewardship in Orkadale, and he turned in into Surnadale, and there his cutter sank. Arni black was to have the stewardship in Romsdale, and he turned back south to the king. But those king's men Sigurd bishop's son and his men met the Wolfskins on Lyngvers-bay, and he got away with great difficulty, and he too turned south to the king. But those king's men who sailed in ships of burden with their wares were slain as they stood. Peter Paul's son came to Borgund when he heard that the Wolfskins were to the south in three cutters, but some were faring from the north against him. Peter had promised most of his followers that they should go home; he had a great twenty-bencher and a cutter as well; then he turned south

The king had sent his liegemen home while the duke sent Wolfskins to cut him off.

as quickly as he could. But when he came from the north to the Herisles, then he was told that the Wolfskins were lying there in the harbour in three cutters. But when Peter and his men came off the harbour he let the horns be blown. And as soon as the Wolfskins heard that, they cast off their awnings and rowed away. That was reckoned to Peter in various ways. Some said he let the horns be blown, because he wished to give the Wolfskins warning, and would not raise any strife against the duke. Some said that for this he kept his homestead safe in Gizki. Peter and Asolf and Arni black and Sigurd bishop's son went leisurely after they came south of Stad.

A.D. 1239.  
November.  
Peter of  
Gizki's  
doubtful  
conduct.

206. King Hacon sat in Bergen with very few men. He had not made up his mind as to his going, whether it should be east or not; for he awaited every day the message from the north about those things of which he had written to the duke. He thought it very wonderful that no message came; and for that he had some doubt that all was not trustworthy. Then he called to him his councillors and had a talk with them; and they advised that he should be on his guard. After that he sent a cutter north into Sogn sea, but another he let float by Fold-hella every night, which was called "the Wight," the fastest of all ships. On her were his candle-swains and other king's men. They rowed every day to the town, and out again in the evening. One night when they were on this watch they became aware that an eight-oar was rowing from the north along the land furiously. They steered for them, and thought it was the spying-cutter. But on board was Grim back-bent. He badethem lead him to the king, and said he had great tidings to tell the king. They rowed to the king's landing place, and there went on shore. There might then be a third of the night left.

King  
Hacon in  
Bergen  
with very  
few men.

At last  
Grim  
back-bent  
brings the  
bad news  
from the  
north.

A.D. 1239. They called out at the lodging and said they wanted to see the king. He arose at once and put on his clothes, and went into the parlour to them. There he found Grim, and he greeted the king. The king bade him welcome, and asked what tidings. "The tidings are great to tell lord; duke Skuli your father-in-law has let them give him the title of king, and given out that all peace between you is Sundered." The king spoke against that, but Grim said, "He has also sent out force on all sides, both north and south, and up the country, to let your men be slain, wherever they may be. He has also sent against you fourteen cutters, and aboard them his liegemen and bodyguard. And make your plans quickly, for they will come here speedily. Do not gainsay this in any wise, for I rode out there round Gaular hill while they were at the Eyra-Thing; but since I lurked in the woods in Gaular-dale until I knew these tidings to be true. Now I have been nine nights and days on the road from the north." The king asked after his stewards who had gone north. But Grim said that he had met them all, except Thorir, "And they were safe and sound, if they keep themselves safe henceforth; but Thorir had sailed on, and methinks his case is very dangerous."

207. There were few men with the king when he heard these tidings. He held his peace some time and then said: "God be praised that I know what I shall have to do henceforth; for that which has now come out was long since purposed." After that he went to the queen's lodging and bade them open the door. That was done, the king went into the lodging; there was a light burning. There slept some pages and the queen's waiting-maids. The king went up to the bed; but the queen stood in a silken sark, and threw over herself a red cloak with bands. She greeted the king. He took her greeting kindly. She

The king tells the queen, and is very kind to her.

Grim goes to the king at once, and tells him that the duke had taken the title of king and given out that peace was Sundered between them.



took a silken cushion and bade the king sit down. He said he had no wish to sit down. She asked if the king had heard any new tidings. "Small are the tidings," says he, "there are two kings in Norway at once." She said: "One must be the rightful king, and that is you; and so may God grant and the saint king Olaf." Then the king said that her father had let himself be given the title of king at the Eyra-Thing. "It must be better than that," she says, "and do not, for God's sake, believe this so long as you can disavow it." Then she burst out into tears, and could say no more. The king bade her be easy, and said she should not suffer for the undertaking of her father. A little after the king went away. But as soon as it was day the king went to mass. After that he called to him his councillors; Grim was then present, and told the tidings which he had brought. That course was taken that the arrow of war was sent out north and south from Bergen, and the whole levy summoned thither. The king sent word to his liegemen: Gauti John's son, Gunnar his kinsman, Nicholas Paul's son, Brynjolf John's son, and Isaac of Bæ. That same day the king held a meeting in Christ Church yard, and told all men those tidings which he had heard, and bade men not be downcast at them; for he said his heart told him that there would be some good way out of this trouble. The morning after the king held a muster, and the king reviewed his men; and said that this order should be that the chapmen should be each in his tavern fully armed; but the king's men should lie in the king's house; but he said he would take such means, by God's mercy, that no strife should come on them unawares. After that he made them launch his ships, those bigger ones: Guardship, Olaf's clinker, Firbrand, Goldwaist, and Rygiabrand. But when Guardship was run down her under timbers

A.D. 1239.

November,  
December.The king  
takes  
counsel  
and sends  
out the  
arrow of  
war, and  
calls out  
all the  
levies  
north and  
south.He  
launches  
his ships.

A.D. 1239. parted, and the ship was put up at once and mended  
 December. at leisure; but all the others were launched and fitted  
 Men and ships out in the best way. The king's ships lay all along  
 come in the wharves in towards the town. After that came  
 daily. daily liegemen and stewards with great bands. The  
 men of Vors came one day with seven ships. When  
 they came from the north Peter and Asolf and Sigurd  
 bishop's son, they said that the duke had filled all  
 the stewardships to the north of Stad.

The king sends Peter of Gizki and other chiefs north with twenty-five ships.  
 208. King Hacon then sent some captains of bands  
 north against the Wolfskins: Peter of Gizki, goodman  
 Asolf, and Gunnar his kinsman, with five-and-twenty  
 ships. But before they went out of the town he  
 spoke with them, and bade them fare so far north  
 as they could well do. He bade them keep the  
 peace of the church and to spare women; just as all  
 his forefathers had done before him. After that they  
 fared away. But when they came to Borgund, there  
 they found the stewards of the Wolfskins: Olaf worry-  
 bone, Snækoll, and Andrew wry-face. There fell some  
 men of the Wolfskins before they could get into the  
 church. The Birchshanks took all the levies of stores  
 which they had gathered together. But to the men  
 peace was granted till they saw the king. Then  
 Snækoll sang this:

I shall ne'er though I live for ever  
 Beg for a stewardship in South-Mæren,  
 For foemen bore me thence alas!  
 To Bergen for the king's behest.

They re- turn with spoil, find- ing it impossible to get to Nidaros.  
 Peter and his companions heard that there were  
 no Wolfskins on the way from the north; but that  
 the duke sat with very many men in Nidaros, so  
 that there was no way of going thither. Then  
 they turned south back to Bergen with the goods  
 and men which they had taken. King Hacon gave  
 them all peace who came into his power. The  
 king sent Clement of Holm south to Agdir against

those Wolfskins who were there. He slew Olaf A.D. 1239.  
 Thora's son, an old Crozierman. Bord of Hestby had Yule.  
 the stewardship in Rygja-folk on the duke's behalf;  
 and as soon as he heard those tidings that the duke  
 had let the title of king be given him, then he went  
 at once to king Hacon, and gave himself up; but  
 the king gave him good terms of peace.

209. King Hacon had every day talk with his The king  
 liegemen, what counsel was best to take. They determines  
 were all eager who had come from the north that to stay at  
 he should hold on north with all the host; for they Bergen  
 had lost at the hands of the Wolfskins both kins- till the  
 men and friends and fee. But all those who were height of  
 south of Stad were eager that he should stay quiet the winter  
 while the winter was at its highest. And that course is over.  
 was taken that the king sat in Bergen with all  
 his force. Nicholas Paul's son was with the king. Death of  
 He was the youngest of all the liegemen and was Nicholas  
 thought the most hopeful man for wit and bearing. Paul's son.  
 He took to his bed sick, and of that same sickness  
 he died the day before Yule-eve. His body was laid  
 out by night. Next morning "the Guardship" was The  
 mended, and it was the king's will that she should "Guard-  
 be launched before Yule. And while the mass was ship" is  
 being sung the king let the ship be got into trim. launched.  
 Then the horns were blown. And when the folk  
 had come to the ship, then the king put it all into  
 one speech, as he gave orders about the ship, and  
 set peace between men. Then the ship was launched  
 and it went off in the best way. After that the king  
 went to meet the body of Nicholas, and gave thanks  
 for the psalms at the brink of the grave. But while  
 the body was being buried the mast on the ship  
 was rigged and tackling borne on board her. After  
 that the king held a meeting of the bodyguard, and  
 himself greeted his men. The king had much toil  
 that day.

A.D. 1240.

The king  
sends  
Ogmund  
crowdance  
with one  
hundred  
men  
across the  
Fells to  
Heidmark.

210. Ogmund crowdance came to Bergen before Yule, and stayed there with the king till the ninth day. King Hacon then gave him a force of a hundred men of his bodyguard and guests. After that Ogmund went in to Sogn, and so up across the Fell. It was quiet then; there were no Wolfskins then in the Dales. Munan bishop's son had then the stewardship in Heidmark. He had fled from Heidmark before the Wolfskins, and out into Valdres, and was there Yule over. They met Ogmund and Munan, and went afterwards to Oslo. There they found many of the king's men, and they said that Ogmund came down from up the country, because he dared not stay in the Uplands for the Wolfskins. Ogmund said he thought he would have too small a force if the duke came from the north. After that he and Munan marched up the country, and stayed for a while north in the Dales.

The duke's  
perfidy.

Bishop Arni had sent a clerk north to the archbishop in the autumn before the strife began with letters. And when he came north then the duke let all the letters be seized. But afterwards when he busked him back south, the duke bade him take his letters, and they were read before him, and there was nothing in them but claims for debts for men in Bergen. But when the letters were to be sealed the duke let them be changed; and the clerk had others with him south. King Hacon got at these letters, and came to know of all the falsehoods that were in them against him and his men.

King  
Hacon  
keeps a  
worthy  
Yule feast  
in Bergen.

King Hacon let them make ready a worthy Yule feast in Bergen, for then a much greater one was needed than was the wont. He sat through Yule at great cost, and this winter was the twenty-third of his reign. He had sent east into the Bay after his land dues and levies to pay his men's wages; but nothing came from the south. And on the eighth day the



king let them break asunder his treasures, silver dishes and silver cups, and nevertheless made a good reckoning with his bodyguard. It was nine nights after Yule that the king went out in the evening, and it was clear weather. He saw a wonderful star, much greater and more terrible than others, and out of it as though there were a shaft. The king let master William be called to him. And when he came and saw the star he said: "God keep us! That is a " great sight. This star is called *kometu*; and it is " seen before the death of noble chiefs, or before " great battles." This star was seen in many lands that winter.

A.D. 1240.  
He breaks up his silver plate to pay his men.  
A comet seen.

211. As Yule wore away the liegemen began to be uneasy, and would willingly go north. The king paid no heed to them. Then he heard great blame from many, and how he would prove it to be true that the Wolfskins called him Hacon sleepyhead. The king gave no heed to that. But as soon as it drew on to Candlemass then the king made ready to sail, and summoned to him all his force. He had forty ships, and all big and in good trim. These liegemen were with the king: Gaut John's son, Peter Paul's son, Asolf earl's kinsman, Gunnar king's kinsman, and Isaac of Bæ. Before the king went out of the town he let the queen go up into the Castle and squire Magnus; and there Gudleik of Ask was her warden, and forty of the bodyguard and much other folk. King Hacon had sent letters in the winter east to the Bay to lord Canute and Arnbjorn John's son; and that was in them that Arnbjorn should let Canute be given the title of earl. After that they were to guard the Bay against the Wolfskins and the duke, if he showed himself there or his men.

After Yule the liegemen are anxious to go north; the king takes no heed till Candlemas, and then fares north with forty ships.

212. When king Hacon sailed out of Bergen it was said to him that the duke had sent men into the stewardships in South Mæren and in Romsdale. And

A.D. 1240. when the king got to Keili-stream he let some men be called to him, and named some ships to fare north. Spring. These were the captains: Gunnar the king's kinsman, Finn ball is cut off at Romsdale-mouth. and Asolf, and Sigurd bishop's son, and Arni black. After that they sailed as fast as they could. And The king hears a rumour that the duke was going up the country. when they came north off Romsdale-mouth they heard that Finn ball was inside in Ve-isle with his band. They turned at once into the firth, and came on them unawares, and slew Finn and some men with him. No news had come from the north to king Hacon that winter, for all the ways were so watched that no one came north, though he wished it. But when the king fared north that rumour spread about that the duke was busking him to go up the country, and would not await the king. And when the king sailed north about Knarskeid, then the weather was sharp and there was a snow-fog, and he ran in by Sondulf's-stead. Then the king was told as a truth that the duke must have turned up into the country. And then counsel was taken that fifteen ships were sent on; and these led them, Asolf of East-airt and Gunnar, and they sailed a straight course north to the town in the night. Bergthor tooth was the name of one of the duke's men; he sailed by them in a light cutter and brought the news to the town. And when they sailed up to the town Gunnar king's kinsman ran in to Ilswick, and they landed there; but Asolf and some of the force rowed the nearest way up into the river, and landed there. But because news had come before, then men got away into the churches. They slew some men there of the Wolfskins, but some were wounded.

Fifteen ships are sent on to Nidaros and find the rumour true.

213. Duke Skuli had marched out of the town on Saturday in Septuagesima week, and he was the night at Middlehouse, and marched thence out to Orkadale; and had set behind him in the town to watch his ships and all Drontheim law father Clement and Guttorm

of Sudrheim, and they had two hundred men. The duke marched south across the fell with five hundred men, and the choicest force well equipped both with arms and horses. Alf of Leifasteads had gone east before, as is already said. Then those two, Munan bishop's son and Ogmund crowdance, were in Gudbrandsdale. But when they heard that the duke had come from the north, then they turned out on to Heidmark. And when they came to Ringsaker there Alf of Leifasteads met them, and he was so hard pressed that he and all his men ran inside the church; but those two, Munan and Ogmund, beleaguered the church, and sat there far on in the day. But because there was likelihood that the duke would come after them, then they turned away, and out to Oslo to those king's men who were there. Then they sent news to earl Canute and Arnbjorn John's son, and other liegemen in the Bay, and drew together a great host.

A.D. 1240.

Spring.

The duke marches south across the fells with five hundred men.

King Hacon's men

gather a great force in the Bay.

214. King Hacon sailed in along Drontheim and ran in to shore at Holm. Then it was told him that the Wolfskins were there in the Holm in great numbers, and father Clement and Guttorm. They had fled thither as soon as they knew the king was expected, and sat steadfastly in the church. Because of that king Hacon would not land and go to the monastery. But the Wolfskins sent men to him and begged for peace, and no answer came back to them from the king. The king took counsel with his men, and afterwards rowed in to the town. Archbishop Sigurd and the canons came to meet him, and greeted him well. But he thought he saw that some spoke otherwise than was in their minds. They spoke often, the king and the archbishop, about those great matters which rested on all the land. There were some of the duke's friends who said that they should make peace, the king and the duke, in this way, that each of them should have half the realm, and

King Hacon in Nidaros.

He consults with the archbishop.

The king refuses to be atoned with the duke, but

A.D. 1240. both the title of king. The king said that he would  
 Spring. not hear of such an atonement as things stood. The  
 grants duke had sent up to Elkshieling into the church lady  
 peace to Ragnhild and lady Ragnfrid, and much other of his  
 lady property. The archbishop begged for peace for them  
 Ragnhild and lady of the king. But he answers so that he would give  
 Ragnfrid, peace though others than they were come into the  
 and to the church, and said those ladies should have peace all  
 duke's the more because he was ready to grant it to those  
 men who who sat in the church at Holm. And so they all  
 had taken came into the king's peace. Some of them went to  
 sanctuary. the duke had so marched out of Drontheim that the goods  
 of those men who followed him stood quiet, but on  
 that came men out of all the districts in Drontheim  
 who were keeping the homesteads of the Wolfskins  
 and begged for mercy, and that the king should not  
 let the homesteads be sacked. The king let a meet-  
 ing be called by the horn, and gave it out before  
 all men that the homesteads of the Wolfskins should  
 stand quiet till the first day of summer, and so try  
 if they would come into an atonement with the king  
 and into his mercy.

He refuses  
to let the  
homesteads  
of the  
Wolfskins  
be sacked.

215. Archbishop Sigurd was wrath with abbot Bjorn  
 of Holm in the autumn when the duke had let the  
 title of king be given him, and both for those faults  
 which he had himself committed, and also for that  
 he was in the duke's plans as to his undertaking.  
 And because of all this together the archbishop laid  
 his ban on the abbot. That misliked him very much;  
 and for that he appealed to the pope against the  
 archbishop. They took counsel together, the duke  
 and the abbot. The abbot took money of the duke,  
 and set the cloister at Holm in pledge. The abbot  
 undertook the charge of the duke's business and bore  
 his letters to other lands, Denmark and the German  
 empire, and those lands which were near to them,

Arch-  
bishop  
Sigurd  
lays his  
ban on  
Bjorn  
abbot of  
Holm.

The abbot  
tries to  
leave Nor-  
way.



and so out to the court (of Rome). The abbot went from Nidaros before Yule in the winter. But when he came up across the fell he travelled most leisurely, as though he had naught to bear with him that was of any weight. But when he came to Hammar-Chipping, there he met Munan bishop's son. The abbot treated him most kindly and showed no mistrust in anything that he did; but Munan had heard of his doings already, and for that he seized the abbot and all that he had with him, and set four of the body-guard and four other men to go with the abbot down into Sogn, and so to Bergen. And he was up in the Burg with the queen until king Hacon came from the north.

A.D. 1240.  
Spring.  
Duke Skuli had sent abbot Bjorn with letters to foreign princes.  
The abbot is seized by Munan bishop's son at Hammar-Chipping and sent to Bergen.

216. Earl Skuli had sent east into Jemtland Jatgeir skald with letters, and also into Helsingland, and thence into Sweden; and as soon as the king heard that, he sent Gunnar his kinsman after him; and he fared as fast as he could, and had great straights in this journey. Gunnar had no more men than fifteen. He slew that man in Jemtland who was called Thorir twig-biter; he had held the stewardship there on the duke's behalf. After that he fared on east after Jatgeir, and (found) he had halted in Helsingland, and Gunnar took all those letters which he had on the duke's behalf, and the presents which he had sent to his friends. Jatgeir got away with the greatest difficulty. Gunnar got very great fame on this journey. He came too back to Nidaros before the king had left it.

Jatgeir skald, another messenger, is stripped of his letters in Sweden.

When king Hacon was in Nidaros there came some lads from the east across the fell; and said that earl Canute and the king's liegemen had gathered together in Oslo and had five hundred and twenty<sup>1</sup> men; and gave it out as very likely that they would win a victory over the duke, though they had

The king hears good news from Oslo.

<sup>1</sup> H. reads "half the third tenth of a hundred men."

A.D. 1240. fewer folk than they then had. They said that the Spring. duke was with his force in Heidmark when they passed by there. They said that all looked most hopeful as to the undertakings of the Birchshanks.

The duke in Heidmark and the Birchshanks in the Bay hopeful.

217. When duke Skuli was in Heidmark Veseti the little came to him from the east out of the Marches. The duke marched out of Hammar, and out to Eidsfield. That was in the second week of Lent. He sent on before him Alf of Leifasteads to spy. He met in the night the scouts of earl Canute. Their dealings ended so, that Canute's men took one lad of Alf's men, and brought him to the earl. But there a man met him who had a quarrel with him, and he had him beheaded. When the duke marched from Eidsfield there came to meet him a Dansk priest, and a few men with him. The priest spoke, and gave out that he was sent by earl Canute to the duke, to say that the earl asked that they should meet at a place called Leirfields and have a battle. Either side should busk itself as well as it could, and tread itself a path; but neither were to lay steel on the other until this meeting was proved. The duke bade him speak thus to the earl and the other Birchshanks that he would take those terms, and said he would stir no strife until this meeting was over. The day after this the priest came to the duke, and then spoke thus, that the earl wished that they should settle about their array, as to what bands should stand each against the other. He asked the duke to let his banner stand against the earl's banner, but he said that the earl's candle-swains and those bands that were with them should have a yellow banner, and those against them should be the duke's candle-swains. He said too that the king's guests would have a black banner, and that the banner of the duke's guests should be against them. The priest bade the duke send men with him to meet the earl

Earl Canute proposes to duke Skuli to fight their quarrel out.

and hear these words from his own mouth. He sent that man whose name was Kari one-hand. The duke had been that night in Romarick, at that farm which is called Laka. But the priest and Kari came a little way from the duke across a little wood. Then they saw the banner of the Birchshanks marching towards them. Then the priest said that the earl was quicker than had been told him; and bade Kari then turn back and tell the duke what had happened; and so he did. But then the force of the duke marched on across the wood to the river Leira. Then each marched against the other along the river ice. A high ness ran between them called Leirness. These rode first of the duke's men: Bard wolf his liegeman and Bard of Gudreksteads, son of Thorstein bowed. And when they came just opposite the ness the Birchshanks came against them, Arnbjorn bag and a band of men with him. Then the Wolfskins wished to turn away and back towards their companions. And when Bard turned his horse it fell under him, and Arnbjorn got him taken. But Bard of Gudreksteads got away, but got a great spear-thrust between his shoulders; and a good byrnie shielded him that he was not wounded. The duke turned from the river and up on to the ness, and drew up his men there, but the Birchshanks over against him on the other side of the river. They shot at one another a while in the evening; from that Jon paris, one of the duke's men, got his death.

Bard wolf went to Eric stalk, his brother-in-law, and told him that he had not his clothing there; and bade Eric give him men to follow him out on the ice, and said he wished to throw a runic staff on the ice to his messmates. Eric did that. But when they got on the ice, Bard went fastest of them. His followers were on the other side of the river, and they knew him and went to meet him. Then

A.D. 1240,  
March.

Earl Skuli  
and the  
Wolfskins  
in the  
Uplands.

They come  
down the  
country  
to attack  
the Birch-  
shanks.

The Birch-  
shanks  
take Bard  
wolf  
prisoner.

Bard wolf's  
clever  
escape.

A.D. 1240, Bard begins a race from the Birchshanks to his  
 March. followers. Duke Skuli was three nights at Leirness, and could then no longer feed his host there, and marched early on Friday morning. That was in the second week of Lent. It was on the seventh day of the ides of March-month, and they turned back to Laka. But when the Birchshanks were ware of that they marched at once after them. When the Wolfskins came to Laka they trode them a path on the brink by the house. There was there below a dale, and some heights on the other side. Then they saw that the Birchshanks were marching after them. They thought they understood that there must be a meeting. Then they began to draw up their force on the brink, the duke and his men.

The Birch- 218. The Birchshanks marched till they came to  
 shanks meet the Laka, and drew up their array on the other side by  
 Wolfskins the dale. Earl Canute and Arnbjorn John's son set  
 at Laka. many captains of bands to fall on the rear of the  
 Wolfskins. Their leader was Lodin Gunni's son, and Hacon grice, and John provost's son. He was at the head of the candleswain band, and Thorir short bore their banner. There were many other captains of bands there. They marched at the back of the duke's array; and then the homestead was between them. But when the duke saw that he arrayed his men against the backblow. And these were the captains at their head: Alf of Thornsberg, Olaf of Vigdeild, Alf of Leifasteads, Veseti the little, and his brother Algauti, and some more captains. And when they met there was a hard battle. The onslaught was unhandy for the Birchshanks, for the snow was deep and bad to walk on, but the Wolfskins met them with hardihood. When they thought they knew, the earl and Arnbjorn, that the attack in the rear had come to close quarters, then they let their banners be moved on, and went down into the dale, and so



up the brink of the hill under the duke's array. The duke bade his men not to be too eager in trapping them, but to let them come far up before they charged against them. But that was only half kept, for the Wolfskins went at them quickly. The Birchshanks could not get up for the snow, and soon turned back to where they had stood at first, and there one man of them lost his life.

A.D. 1240.

They are  
beaten,  
and lose  
many men,  
and fly  
some to  
Tunsberg  
and others  
to Oslo.

219. Now we must speak of the backblow. Hacon grice went in the first place. But when they came to close quarters, then at once the loss in men turned to the side of the Birchshanks. There fell Hacon grice, and John provost's son, and Guttorm cherry, and many other men of mark. Then the Birchshanks fled. Many fell in the flight. Lodin Gunni's son ran into the passage of the church with a band of men. The Wolfskins took the banners and bore them to the duke. Then the earl and Arnbjorn thought they knew that their men had lost the day. Then they took their plan, and sent that man whose name was Eilif kine to seek for terms of peace from the duke. And when he came back and those men whom the duke had sent with him, then their shields stood in the snow-drift where they had stood, but all the men were away. Earl Canute and Arnbjorn fled on to Tunsberg; but some to Oslo, and out to Hofudisle, and sat there in the cloister. Kolbjorn brother of Alf of Thornsberg fell of the Wolfskins, and a few men. So sang Olaf white-skald of these tidings:—

The chief fared on with mighty force  
A-warring on the Uplands Northfro,  
Wooden shields were notched at Laka,  
With sharp swords the men lay slain.  
From the south the lord of meetings<sup>1</sup>  
Rode on watersnakes<sup>2</sup> to Drontheim  
The wise king the warships burned  
But gave quarter to the crews.

Olaf white-  
skald's  
verses.

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<sup>1</sup> King.

| <sup>2</sup> Ships.

A.D. 1240. Sturla sang so :—

Sturla's  
verses.

Quarrel rose from mighty man  
Within the land to all the folk ;  
When the youngling east at Laka  
Chaunted the sword-charm raising war.  
And the warrior on his steed  
For wolf and erne rich harvest made,  
Growing o'er the war-worn realm  
Of the king, that winter woeful.

Duke  
Skuli lets  
himself  
be chosen  
king at  
Oslo.

220. Duke Skuli gave peace to Lodin Gunni's son and those men who went with him ; and marched after that out to Oslo and let himself be chosen king there. He gave those men peace who were in the cloister at Hofudisle : Paul goose, and Gjardar Styrkar's son, and more captains of bands. Many Birchshanks came into the duke's hand. Then he stayed in Oslo for a while.

King  
Hacon  
hears the  
bad news  
at Dront-  
heim.

221. King Hacon sat in Drontheim, as was before said. It was the custom of the king's men to go to Elkshieling in the day to lady Ragnhildr and that mother and daughter, and to the duke's men who were there. And one day when the king's men came there they saw that all the folk laughed at them that were there, as though they made some mocking, but would tell no tidings. They told the king they were sure that there were some tidings there at which they laughed in their hearts. And that same day came from the east a guest to king Hacon. The king asked him tidings. He stood there and held his peace. The king bade him tell the tidings just as they were, and as God had ordained that they should be. " For we must hear them of others, though you " tell them not." He answers : " They are soon told, " that earl Canute and your liegemen in the Bay " and the duke met in Romarick at that farm called " Laka, and had a battle ; and your men had the " better of it the first day ; but on the last they " fled, and there fell many men of mark of the

“ Birchshanks.” And he told the king all that had happened, for he was in the battle. The king thought these great tidings. But ever after that there was no lack of mockery against the Birchshanks from those men who were the duke’s friends. And to such a pitch did they bring this as soon as they dared, that those who came from the east to the duke’s friends said that the body-guard of king Hacon were very near all slain that were in the Bay; and it was not sure whether the earl could hold his own in the land. To all the king’s men there was much grief in these tidings. Then Olaf White-skald sang this song:—

From the east we heard the story  
How the Birchshanks there were worsted;  
But the valiant king will shortly  
Set matters straight again at Oslo;  
It will then be give and take,  
Conquest follows on defeat;  
Canute even now is conqueror,  
Of these tidings I am sure.

222. King Hacon after that sent word to all his men that they should make ready to start as fast as they could. After that the archbishop came one day into Nicholas church, and with him Lambi prior of Elkshieling. The archbishop spoke thus to the king: “ We have heard, lord, that ye have gotten a great and manifold harm in the loss of your men in the Bay at the hand of duke Skuli. There is great cause now for fear, if your foes should get such head, and if things go on so for a little while as they now look; and for that it seemed to us good counsel that we should try to make peace between you and the duke; both for the land’s sake and that of all the people. We will willingly take on us the trouble of this journey, and ride south across the fell, if you think that it is all grateful to you. May be that it will be harder to get good terms

A.D. 1240  
The Wolf-  
skins in  
Drontheim  
mock at  
the Birch-  
shanks.

King  
Hacon  
calls out  
his men.  
His deal-  
ings with  
the arch-  
bishop.  
The arch-  
bishop’s  
speech.

A.D. 1240. "from him later, as his fortune now gets better and  
"better"

King  
Hacon's  
speech to  
the arch-  
bishop.

Now answers king Hacon: "God thank you, lord,  
"for your good will which you reveal in this. It  
"may be seen also that you wish that it may turn  
"out well with this offer of your pains. But though  
"we have gotten some scathe as to our men, it may  
"be that more has been said of it than is true.  
"But though it were true, then we say, with the  
"mercy of God and king Olaf the saint, that our  
"greatest strength in the land is where the company of  
"our own selves is. And so it scarcely likes us, as  
"things stand, to come to any terms with the duke  
"before our dealings have been put a little more to  
"the proof; for we two have as yet never met our-  
"selves nor fought under our banners. But if this is  
"fated that we two should meet, and if God has so  
"provided and the saint king Olaf that I get the  
"worst of it, then we shall have the choice to come  
"to terms between us. But for no sake does it like  
"us to make peace as things stand without having  
"put our meeting to the proof. And we will first  
"see each other, we kinsmen, and then talk about it,  
"and know whether things will then go better, or  
"when others fight on our behalf." When this had  
been spoken the king and the archbishop parted.

Every  
day Wolf-  
skins come  
in to him.

After this Wolfskins came every day to the king,  
both John of Sudrheim, his kinsman, and Thorfin of  
Gyrf, and many others, and took peace of the king.  
Then he made them seek after the ships which the  
duke had owned, and seized those which seemed best  
suited to him. But those big ones which stood up  
on land were either burnt or hewn to pieces.

He calls  
together  
the Eyrar-  
Thing.

223. When king Hacon was all-boun he made  
them sound the horns for the Eyrar-Thing, according  
as had been already fixed. Then was borne out the  
shrine of the saint king Olaf, and that cross in which



is the *Lignum Domini*. That was Sunday half a month before Easter. Then the title of king was given to Hacon the young. That man gave it him who was called Einar butterback, who afterwards was archbishop. There were by archbishop Sigurd and all the best men out of Drontheim law. The young king swore an oath at the shrine of the saint king Olaf after rightful custom. After him swore all the liegemen and captains of the court. So too swore eight freemen out of every district. After that king Hacon spoke himself, and said this, that the freemen had come in more strength against him than he thought could be, and than they ought to do against their king; but still he said he did not lay most of the blame at their door. He also guessed that it was not wonderful that each were displeasing to the others, the king and the freemen. That same day the archbishop was at the king's banquet; but the king on Monday was at the archbishop's banquet, and each gave the other good gifts.

224. Tuesday the king rowed out to Holm. But after that he got a steady breeze south. He came on Tuesday after Palm Sunday to Hegranness in the first watch, and slept there till it was light. Then force came after him from the north. Then the king made them sound the horns for all the crews out of the ships and held a house-Thing. There had been some grumbling in the host since the fight at Laka, and mostly from the men of the levies. Then many begged leave to go home, and there was some fear a-foot as to faring further south. Then king Hacon spoke before the host, and said thus: "We have heard some grumbling that men were loath of this knocking about which we have had this winter, and so also men are somewhat fearful since they heard these tidings which have happened in the Bay. It must

A.D. 1240.

Mid Lent.

The title of king is given to Hacon the young.

King Hacon sails south, and makes a speech to his men.

A.D. 1240. " though be known to most men that men have  
 " often had more knocking about and hardships for  
 " their king ; most of all when no one man has got  
 " a graze of all our men, and when ye have as yet  
 " seen no flight of shafts against you. In old days  
 " it would have been thought little hardship which  
 " ye have had up to this time with us ; and the old  
 " Birchshanks would not have parted from their king  
 " in such a trial as has yet been. And so it is my  
 " prayer to all men that ye behave well, and not  
 " part from us as things stand. That would be  
 " thought unmanly on your part. But this I will  
 " say to you, which we ween will prove true : Ere  
 " a month is past hence, then some shall find that  
 " they will have more elbow-room in the land and  
 " in our court than they now have." An old free-  
 man stood up and answers the king's speech thus :

He re-  
 proaches  
 them for  
 their faint-  
 heartedness  
 compared  
 with the  
 " old Birch-  
 shanks."

One of  
 Sverrir's  
 veterans  
 declares  
 it would  
 be the  
 greatest  
 baseness  
 to desert  
 the king.

" I was in three battles with king Sverrir thy grand-  
 " father ; and if he had spoken so, men would have  
 " thought it no great trial to follow him. It is also  
 " my word that he is the basest of all men who  
 " parts from his king, though the trial were greater  
 " that it now is." After that king Hacon rose and  
 bade men hasten their voyage as fast as they could  
 to the town. As soon as the king came to Bergen  
 he rowed in to the town, and a procession was made  
 to meet him ; and all were glad at his coming.

King  
 Hacon  
 comes to  
 Bergen,  
 and finds  
 the letters  
 which con-  
 firm duke  
 Skuli's  
 treachery.

225. When king Hacon came to Bergen he made  
 them search those letters with which abbot Bjorn was  
 travelling. Then there were letters to the pope and  
 the emperor, and many princes out abroad on the  
 duke's behalf, which he thought would have furthered  
 his cause most of all. And they went to such length  
 that hardly could a man believe that such a prince  
 could wish to say so much, and all untruths and lies.  
 Some letters there were for which the abbot was  
 worthy to lose his life ; but still the king gave him

peace as soon as he got all the letters and knew his whole errand. The abbot went east with the king. When the king was in Bergen liegemen and councillors came to him and said it would be good counsel that he sate there Easter over, and on into the spring, and gave those leave to go home who had been with him before; but called out the levies all over Gula-Thing's law in men and food, and take with him so great a force that he needed not to be afraid.

King Hacon answers: "In every way methinks it is not good counsel to give those leave to go home who are now with us; for we scarce know whether we shall get more force from the Gula-Thing's law than we now have. Then we should think that force dear-bought if we lose those in the Bay, who are willing to back our honour and risk their lives for us, if we come quickly to them. Either way our force will be all the lesser the later we come to them in person. And that is why we will fare east as speedily as we can with the force we have got; and I would still sail east, though I had no more than three ships. Nay, we would hold on, though we sailed in one ship. But those who will not follow us, then may God make our arm so long that we may repay it them so that they shall feel it." The king said that he would let the title of the young king be renewed, and that pleased all well. Then the horns sounded for a Thing on Shrove-Thursday out in Christ's Churchyard, and then the title of king was given to young Hacon. Then he swore an oath after rightful custom and the liegemen after him. So too the freemen swore oaths out of all Gula-Thing's law and out of Orkney, Shetland, and Iceland. After that king Hacon spoke some words; and so gave it out to the men that they should sail away in their ships on Good Friday; but he laid the crime of treason on those who stayed behind. On Friday he made them

A.D 1240,  
Spring.  
He takes  
abbot  
Björn with  
him to the  
Bay.

He refuses  
to let the  
levies  
from the  
North  
go home,  
and calls  
out those  
of the  
Gula-  
Thing's  
law.

Young  
Hacon is  
declared  
king at  
the Gula-  
Thing.

He sails  
for the  
Bay on  
Good  
Friday.

A.D. 1240. run the ships into Flora-voe, and was there that night. Next morning he fared out to the town and heard prayers; but went back at once and then rowed south into Græning-sound, and had no more than ten ships with him, and lay there Easter Day. The king made them raise two land tents, and made them hold the service as worthily as he could. The Preaching Friars were there, and made long sermons of the shriving of men and works of necessity. There was a sharp south wind on, and most men said that they would not get a fair breeze, because the king would not stay in the town on such a high feast. At this the king was rather rueful when men cast words in this way at his undertaking. But when the mass was sung he called some men to him, and showed himself cheerful and bade them be of good heart. He said that God would speed them well on their way.

Duke  
Skuli sat  
in Oslo,  
and drew  
together  
a great  
force.

Arnbjorn  
John's son  
opposes  
him.

Death of  
Arnbjorn,  
John's  
son.

226. Now it is to be told of duke Skuli: He sat in Oslo, as was before written, and drew a great force to him. He began his voyage out of Oslo out of the Bay before Palm-Sunday east to Valdisholm. He also sent some ships east by the outer channel to Borg, and these were the leaders there: William of Torg and Thorir slimbone. But when Arnbjorn John's son heard that, then he launched his ships, and fared east across the Fold. And when he came east to Borg-river he met there those Wolfskins who were faring in the ships, and chased them up on land. There some men of the Wolfskins fell, but Arnbjorn took their ships. But because he had had great toil and was far on in years, and had other calls which fell upon him, then he took a sickness, and lay but a short time ere he breathed his last, and that was thought the greatest loss, for all said with one voice that in that time there was thought to be no such man in Norway. Duke Skuli came to Valdisholm; and sat there a short while ere the holm was given up, and the duke took there all the things that he chose. After that he went



back out to Oslo before Easter. Then men thought as though nothing would stop him. Peter the duke's son was up in Heidmark at Easter, and had there a great following of men.

227. King Hacon lay in Græning-sound, as before was said. And on Easter Day men came thither in a cutter from the east; at the head of them was Gudleik oathyoung, and told of the death of Arnbjorn John's son, and along with it that men would be at sixes and sevens in the Bay if the king did not come thither. The second day of Easter the king went on land at dawn, and a lad with him. There was then a little wind on from the south-east. He thought it risky to wake up the men if the weather hardened, for many were eager to get back to the town; but still for all that he bade men put on their clothes and row into Hardsea-firth. And so it was done. Then the wind rose. Then the king went in a cutter with some men, and rowed south to Sand-todr and heard mass there. And when the lesson was read he bade men go out and see whether the ships were come. They came in and said that men were hoisting the sails on the ships. And when the mass was sung all the ships were under sail, and there was a fair breeze on. Then the king made all the haste he could, and could not catch the ships up sooner than in Salbjorn sound, and yet all the sails on the ships were half-furled before he came. That day there was a good and steady breeze, and they sailed into Hvitings-isle in the evening. So says Sturla:—

A.D. 1240,  
Easter.

Duke  
Skuli  
carries all  
before  
him in the  
Bay.

In Easter  
week king  
Hacon  
gets a  
fair wind  
and sails  
east.

Sturla's  
verses.

The king's guard sturdily bore hand,  
Hauled the ropes and stepped the masts,  
And the sailors quick unfurled  
The storm-blown scroll <sup>1</sup> upon the yard.  
And down east along the land  
Swept the prows of gallant ships  
Golden-gleaming, stoutly manned;  
No empty show the monarch's fleet.

<sup>1</sup> Painted sail.

A.D. 1240. Next morning the king heard mass and sailed that day along Jadar. But when they got off Rif there was a strong gale, and some men lost their rudders. And when they came to Hvin then the king's rudder on the king's ship snapped, and almost the whole blade parted. Then gangways and oars were taken, and with them the ship was steered south round the ness. But when they cleared the ness they hauled in the gangways, and the ship was steered with what was left of the rudder and the oars into Skeranda-sound. And when they got into the haven that was brought on shore which was left of the rudder, and men thought it a great miracle that a big ship should have been steered with such a rudder. On Wednesday they sailed into Esjuness isles, and ran in there early in the morning, and after the king came most part of the fleet. Thence they sailed into the Bay. But when they came to Grænmar to the south of the isle of Aur, then there came against them a south-easter with great storm and sea-fog. Then all the ships turned back to the harbour who could not beat up against it. But the king ran in under the land, and came into that harbour which is called Slattuness, and that was far out of the common course. There he lay that night. Then came these tidings to the king that the Wolfskins were all in Oslo and boun to Tunsberg to fall on the Birchshanks. But earl Canute and the king's liegemen lay at Jarl's isle, and many other Birchshanks, and were all-boun to sail north; but some were behind on the Berg. King Hæcon sent men in on land, Eindrid Bersi's son, and men with him to Tunsberg to tell the Birchshanks quietly that the king was come into the Bay. Men had drunk hard on board the king's ship, and slept sound into the morning. The king was up early and bade men put on their clothes, but men were slow in setting about it. Then the king said: "I ween that the Wolfskins were quicker in putting

King  
Hæcon  
has a  
rough  
voyage,  
but reaches  
the Bay  
safely.

He hears  
that the  
Wolfskins  
mean to  
attack  
Tunsberg.

“ on their clothes to-day to go out to Tunsberg A.D. 1240.  
 “ against your comrades than you are now clothing He deter-  
 “ yourselves to fall on them.” The Birchshanks mines to  
 jumped up as quickly as they could, and said that defend  
 should never be. Then they rowed as fast as they Tunsberg  
 could out of the haven. But when they came just by attack-  
 off the isle of Aur a fair breeze sprung up and they ing the  
 took to their sails. Then king Hacon thought that Wolfskins  
 all the ships must have sailed by that time. But in Oslo,  
 when it got light they saw that ships were sailing and sails  
 from the west by the outer channel. The king ran thither  
 in to Masund and stayed there till all the host caught with a  
 him up. And he made his vows for himself and his fair wind.  
 men that all the Birchshanks should water-fast on  
 the eve of Olaf’s wake the first, and fast on the  
 second, or set themselves free by fifteen pennies  
 weighed. Most men kept this vow well the first  
 twelvemonth, but worse afterwards.

228. King Hacon sailed thence in to Grindholm- The king  
 sound. There came to meet him goodman Gunnbjorn, holds on  
 Munan bishop’s son, and Ivar of Skedjahof. They for Oslo  
 told the king that earl Canute lay off Jarlsisle and with a fair  
 the whole host of the Birchshanks, and begged him wind.  
 to put in there. King Hacon answers: “ Because  
 “ God hath given us this fair wind, so we ween that  
 “ this will be a breeze of victory, and an honour to  
 “ all of us; but we will make the most of it with  
 “ God’s mercy. Let those sail after us who will. It  
 “ is hard to say to what good that fair wind will  
 “ come which blows next if this is not made the most  
 “ of.” So sang Olaf white-skald:—

Northfro ran to din of battle,  
 This famous king on stem-skates gliding,  
 All along the coast of Norway,  
 The waves dashed high above the poop;  
 The sultry winds lay on the water,  
 But the king bade them carry on;  
 A gale of victory they had gotten  
 A token true to turn the fray.

Olaf white-  
 skald’s  
 verses.

A.D. 1240. After that king Hacon sailed in along the sounds.  
 He sends And when they came over against Jarlisle then he let  
 word to the horns sound. But as soon as the Birchshanks heard  
 Tunsberg. that, those who were in the isle, they tore down their  
 awnings, and sailed in after the king as fast as they  
 could. Then the king sent off men in a cutter in to  
 Tunsberg; and let them be told who were to guard  
 the Bay and who should follow him. And when he  
 came to Bæda-sound then he ran in there, and waited  
 for the earl and his men. After that they sailed  
 with the host in up the firth the straightest way.  
 As Sturla sang:—

The king  
 comes to  
 Oslo-firth.

The sea-oxen sped under the chief  
 Into the bight of Oslo-firth,  
 What time Skuli's champions proud  
 Stood there arrayed in battle rank.

The wind lessened as the day wore on; and  
 when they came in to Sigvald's-stones then it was  
 calm. Then it began to grow dark, and after-  
 wards they rowed in to Ness-point. Then they met  
 some men and asked them tidings. Some said  
 that the duke must be ridden out of the town; but  
 some said that the Wolfskins were of a surety in the  
 town.

King  
 Hacon  
 plans an  
 attack  
 with his  
 captains.

When king Hacon came to Ness-point he held a  
 talk with all his captains and heads of bands, and  
 laid down the attack thus: That goodman Gunnbjorn  
 and Peter Paul's son, and some other stewards north  
 of Stad, should row to the west of Hofudisle, and run  
 into land north by Gyljandi, and march east to  
 Frysja-bridge, and stop the Wolfskins if they came  
 on at all. Earl Canute and those Bay-dwellers, Simon  
 kine and Eric stalk, should run into land at the  
 gangways and keep the Wolfskins employed. King  
 Hacon himself, and the most part of the force, should  
 land at Eikabergs-stead to the south of Thrælaberg,



and so come on the town from the south. No ship was to row from Hofudisle before they all rowed together, when it grew light, and they could see that king Hacon was turning down from the hill to the town; then each was to row as it was laid down, and those first who were to run in to the gangways.

King Hacon had already in the day sent spies in to Hofudisle, that they might become aware of some surer tidings of the Wolfskins. But because the king thought them still slower than he expected, he got himself into his tow-boat, and meant to row in to Hofudisle. But when he got about mid-firth so great a sea fog came on that one could scarce see from stem to stern, and so the king went back to his men. But in that space when he was rowing into the firth his spies had passed by him, and never met the king; then men hardly knew what was become of him. Then some grumbling arose in the fleet. And next to that that order was broken which had before been laid down as to the attack, for they did not row north who were to land at Gyljandi. But king Hacon turned then out back to his ships. King Hacon the young, king Hacon's son, was then there, and king Hacon made him go on board that cutter which was fastest, and called Kuf-hat, and along with him many good men: William his chaplain, Ingimund Kolbein's son, Andrew jaw, and Peter mouse. He also let two other cutters be behind with the young king, and bade them row to the west of Hofudisle, and lay there secretly, and keep there a look-out on the head up in the isle, and see thence those tidings which happened in the town. "And if God has so ordained," said king Hacon, "that we cannot keep our head above water, and ye become ware of that for a truth that we have got any defeat, then do not stay here; row away out of the firth, and do not rely on the Bay-dwellers.

A.D. 1240.  
April 21st.

He gives a command to his son Hacon, and tells him what to do in case of defeat.

A.D. 1240. "Stay not your course till you come to Bergen, what-April 21st. "ever fate God may then provide for you." King Hacon spoke many fair words to the young king before they parted. After that king Hacon went on board a lightship and the band that followed him, and rowed to the south of the islands, and ran in at Eikabergs-stead, as was meant before. After him turns earl Canute. King Hacon landed with that band that was with him. And before they came in sight of the town, king Hacon made a speech to the people, and had the like fashion in his speech as king Sverrir was wont to have before he fought. He began his speech in this wise:

He  
denounces  
duke  
Skuli's  
treachery.

229. "Most must have heard it talked of, and to many it must be known, about the dealings of us two, duke Skuli and me; they have been, many and divers, some all-good and many rather middling. Still here too it must be, as it most often is that 'Seldom does one rule the roast if two 'share.' Now over and above all those things which have happened between us two, he has let himself be given the title of king, when peace had not been denounced between us, of which there has never been an instance before in Norway. After that he sent men on all sides away from him, both south and north, and up the country, and let them be slain who had sworn oaths and borne swords for both of us wherever they were found; and so behaved like a dastard to those who were just as willing to serve him as us, and who were guiltless and looked for nothing but good; so that churches did not shield them any more than byres. And besides all this evil he sent fourteen ships south against us to let us be slain, or burn the house over our heads, if there were any chance of doing it, us and our sons, if God had allowed it. Now he has got great advancement since, so that

" hardly is such a case to be found, that any man A.D. 1240.  
 " should have got such power with such great wrong- April 21st.  
 " fulness; most of all after that meeting which was at  
 " Laka between his men and ours. There we got  
 " great scathe; for then fell many good men and  
 " true, for whom their kinsmen and friends will wait  
 " long before they can get their loss atoned. Now  
 " we will beg this of all men that are come here,  
 " that ye will keep your steadfastness and manhood  
 " towards us, and that men will bear in mind the  
 " loss of friends and fee, and all that scathe which  
 " the Wolfskins have done us; for so my heart  
 " tells me, and this we hope of from God, that now  
 " our dealings with the Wolfskins will be put into a  
 " proper shape. Show now on both sides, in your talk  
 " and deeds what ye have to avenge, and how  
 " wrongfully we have been attacked, and how stead-  
 " fastly we have to defend our freedom and fee.  
 " Bear in mind this too, though duke Skuli has  
 " brave men with him, still we have the pick of  
 " the best men that there are, and of the best  
 " stocks which are to be found in the land; and  
 " therefore it is the more disgraceful if our foes  
 " get any hold on us or throw us any fall, for we  
 " ought to be their betters in all places." After that  
 he urged on his men, and told them that story which King  
 king Sverrir was wont to tell of a freeman's son, Hacon  
 who was to go with the troops from his father:— tells his  
 " Now the carle asks his son before they part," said men one  
 the king: 'How will it be now,' said the carle, 'if of Sverrir's  
 " thou comest into the fight, and knowest of a stories,  
 " 'truth that thou shalt die there.' The carle's son  
 " answers: 'What boots it to do aught else than to  
 " 'fight as boldly as I can and fall with glory.'  
 " 'Now it shall be so,' says the carle, 'that thou  
 " 'knewest of a truth that thou shouldest come out  
 " 'of the battle.' He answers: 'Would it not be then

A.D. 1240. "my most bounden duty to be doughty like a  
 April 21st. "brave man?"—Now," says the king, "we may see  
 and tells them how to behave in battle, and gives them a watch-word.  
 "that these two things are before us, and that  
 "there is no third choice left." After that he told  
 them how they should handle their weapons what  
 time they came into the battle, that they should  
 take the best care they could not to bear them  
 against their own men, and that men should take  
 heed to "know" one another as well as they could,  
 and to have that watchword which the Birchshanks  
 were wont to use: "On Christ's men and Cross men.  
 "On the saint king Olaf's men!"

He sur-  
 prises the  
 Wolfskins  
 who fly  
 to arms.

The duke  
 puts him-  
 self at  
 their head.

230. When king Hacon came up on to the brink  
 in sight of the town it began to grow light, so that  
 they could skill to know what was passing in the  
 town. All was still and silent to look on. Then the  
 king said, so that they heard it who were nearest:  
 "This I dread now, that the Wolfskins have got  
 "wind of our march, and that they are away out of  
 "the town." Next to that the ships ran out from  
 under Hofudisle which were to run in to the gangways.  
 But as soon as the watchmen saw that they ran to  
 the war-bells. But when the bell pealed out the  
 king thought he knew that the Wolfskins were in  
 the town. After that they saw a great running and  
 bustle in the town. The Wolfskins slept in various  
 places, and as they heard the war-bell they ran to  
 divers places, and most of them to the king's house  
 where the duke slept. And when it was told him  
 that there must be strife coming, he clad himself  
 quickly and armed himself, and took his way up  
 along the street afterwards. And when he came up to  
 the yard of Halvard's church many of his men came to  
 him there. Then there was a talk as to who these  
 troops might be. Most said it must be earl Canute  
 and the liegemen. Then they took no other counsel  
 but to make their way up to Marta-stock. Then all



their force came thither to them, and then they talked about what was to be done. The duke wished to draw his men in array and so receive the Birchshanks. Arni rough bore the duke's banner; he said it was a shame to let earl Canute take their clothes and horses in the town. Then the duke parted his force, and told off Olaf of Vigdeild and some other men with him to the west street; but the duke and his banner and most part of the force turned down towards Halvard's churchyard. He sent Halvard short, the kinsman of bishop Worm, and many men with him to break down Goatbridge, so that none might come over there.

A.D. 1240.  
April 21st.  
The duke divides his force, some went to the west street but the greater part under the duke turned to Halvard's churchyard.

231. When king Hacon was on the brink looking down into the town, and the Birchshanks saw that the Wolfskins were at Marta-stock, then the king's force marched fast. Thorstein home-ness bore king Hacon's banner, a wise and worthy man. He had long served king Hacon, and ever proved himself trusty. The king calls to Thorstein, and bade him not go so furiously; he said that the pace did not spare those who were less quick on their legs in the host. It was then so far on in the year that Easter day was the first Sunday in summer. All the frost was out of the ground; but the land was so wet and soft where the Birchshanks marched that the clay took them to the knee or more. It was hard going, for one leg sank down before the other was plucked out. But when they were almost come to the brink some men ran back to the king and said that the bridge was away. Then Thorstein gave that counsel to turn up along the plain and so to the bridge which lies from Ryginberg towards Osyn. The king said it was not good counsel. Then they turned back to Goatsbridge, and then the Wolfskins were still at it taking down those logs which were next to the town, but they fled away at once when the Birchshanks came up; but

A.D. 1240. ten men might have guarded it, so that no man  
 April 21st. could have come over. Then two beams lay across,  
 Goat- and if any one was to get over he had to pass  
 bridge is all but broken down by the Wolf-  
 skins, but Thorstein and forty men got across it with the king's banner. King Hacon crosses with more men, and they march in array along East-street. The king's son Sigurd comes to meet them.

could have come over. Then two beams lay across, and if any one was to get over he had to pass along them. King Hacon named forty men to go over before his banner. After that Thorstein went over with the banner, but he could not cross otherwise than by steadying himself by his spear's point on one beam as he walked over on the other. And when they had got over they were standing between East street and Nicholas church. And when king Hacon came over there were no more come across than filled up the space toward the street. Then Thorstein bade them to march up as fast as they could that they who landed from the ships might not come first against the Wolfskins. The king said he thought it not wise to march up with no more men than those that were there, and said he would wait till the force got over the bridge. Then sooner than was looked for men came after them. As soon as king Hacon saw his force increasing they went up along the street in battle array. And when they came over against the house of Guttorm Erlend's son, then Guttorm came to meet them short-shod, and had a cape over him, and said, "God keep you, lord, you are marching now in great risk, and with so few men. The Wolfskins are up yonder with their men in array, and have made up their minds one and all to withstand you. Would to God I were now as strong on my legs as I was then when I followed you into Vermland." The king answers: "Have good thanks for thy good-will, but go back inside the house; force will soon come to me from all sides." And when they had gone a little further, then came Sigurd king Hacon's son to meet them. He had come after them from the north day and night. The king was very glad at his coming. Then he followed the king with his men. After that they went on along the street.

232. Up by the yard of Asbjorn kop was Arni A.D. 1240.  
 rough with the duke's banner, and all the pick of the April 21st.  
 best men of the Wolfskins; and they had drawn up They meet  
 in array there But before the battles came together the pick  
 king Hacon bade his horn-swain blow a blast. He of the  
 blew two blasts and rather low ones. The king said: Wolfskins  
 "Thou blowest better, thou bitch-whelp, on Bergen under the  
 "wharf, when thou takest silver from the men!" duke's  
 After that he blew, and then it was much better. banner.  
 Then the king called on his men to go forward under  
 his banner, then he went himself the foremost of all  
 men. As Sturla sang:—

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| The very generous monarch marched        | Sturla's |
| In helm of dread before his standards,   | verses.  |
| And the king's banners wrought with gold |          |
| Rose high above the battle-host:         |          |
| And on both wings for combat eager       |          |
| The king's bold liegemen followed fast   |          |
| The chief who raised the shout of battle |          |
| Before the shock of cruel steel.         |          |

Some of the Wolfskins were up at the churchyard Some of  
 and some inside it. There was no lack then of them were  
 showers of stones, and they let them fly fast, and inside the  
 both sides shot and darted at each other. So says church-  
 yard and  
 some  
 outside.  
 Olaf Whiteskald:—

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| The mail-clad men the king that followed | Olaf white- |
| Dyed deeper still their shields so red;  | skald's     |
| A furious battle fought the princes.     | verses.     |
| Both valiant when the fray was joined,   |             |

Bloody shields were shorn with sword-strokes,  
 Pale men fell upon the field,  
 The king was mail-less but unhurt,  
 The golden hilt-tongues<sup>1</sup> sung aloud.

After that the banner of king Hacon was borne  
 onward. Then flight burst out in the force of the  
 Wolfskins who stood outside the churchyard, and  
 when those Wolfskins who were inside the church-  
 yard saw that, and they too saw the same who were  
 up on the church, then they made the sharpest bout

<sup>1</sup> Sword blades.

A.D. 1240. with stones, that they flew about as thickly as they  
 April 21st. could. Arni rough was inside there at their head,  
 The Wolf- and William of Torg a liegeman, and most part of  
 skins out- the force of the Wolfskins. But some of the Wolf-  
 side the skins turned up to the east of the churchyard.  
 church-  
 yard are  
 driven  
 into it,  
 and the  
 Birch-  
 shanks  
 follow  
 them but  
 are driven  
 out.

When Arni the rough, the duke's banner-bearer, turned into the churchyard, then many Birchshanks sought to get in; some ran on into the churchyard, Ivar holm and Ivar beast and Thorlaug the bad. But because the stones were enough and to spare inside it, then the Wolfskins so bore stones and shot on the Birchshanks that they gave way and went out back again. Then there was a very hard fight. The Birchshanks came on very fast, but the Wolfskins defended themselves manfully both with grit and shot, as Sturla says :

Sturla's  
 verses.

The liegemen kindled Odin's fire  
 Against the scatterer of rings,  
 So that the wound sparks<sup>1</sup> showered down  
 Beneath the feet of Aurni's friend.<sup>2</sup>

Alf of  
 Leifa-  
 steads  
 slain after  
 a gallant  
 defence.

But when Alf of Leifa-steads saw that they would be shut in, then he tried to get out by the yard wicket and fought most boldly. He got down to the river and many ran after him. Alf fell in the river. And it is the story of most men that that has been the manliest defence which he made before he fell. Then king Hacon turned up after those Wolfskins who were flying towards the east of the churchyard. And at that moment fell that man who is called Eystein strong-swimmer, and more Wolfskins beside. One man fell of the Birchshanks, but some were wounded.

King  
 Hacon  
 pursues  
 the Wolf-  
 skins who  
 were flying  
 east of the  
 church-  
 yard.

233. Into that street where the duke had set Olaf of Vigdeild there came those Birchshanks against him who had landed from the ships. Then arose there a very hard onslaught. There were many Wolfskins in the bishop's castle, and they bore great stones down

<sup>1</sup> Drops of blood.

<sup>2</sup> Hrungir, the Giant who fought with Thor.



on the Birchshanks; it was great risk of life to attack those who were in the street, and at the same time to shield one's self from those who were in the castle. And that was why there was a hard fight there. But it ended in this wise that the Wolfskins turned away and into the churchyard. But Olaf of Vigdeild with his followers turned up to the north of the churchyard; but Arnfinn Thjof's son, the duke's marshal, turned north to Nuns-seat, and there ran into the church. King Hacon turned up to the east of the churchyard with his banner. There many Wolfskins met him. There was that man who was called Grim of Sand, and a number of men. Some were in the churchyard, but some on a certain smithy, and they had borne stones thither, and hurled them on both sides as fast as they could at the Birchshanks. And there was that man of the Birchshanks shot in the knee with a javelin whose name was Bjarni horse, and he died of that wound; he was brother's son of Carl slim and Sigurd squint, and one of the most hopeful of men. There many Birchshanks were wounded, and most of them got there some hurt. As Sturla says:—

On Odin's heaven<sup>1</sup> flashed corse-lightnings<sup>2</sup>  
 Falling fast in game of swords,  
 And the shield-elf<sup>3</sup> dashed on boldly,  
 Rending the battle-cloud with bolts.

Sturla's  
 verses.

234. When king Hacon came on even with the Canons' house going down the gully, there the duke met him on horseback, and a very great many men with him. But when they met there was something of a halt, so that neither fell on the other. The Birchshanks were standing in somewhat of a swamp, and besides lower down; but the Wolfskins were up on the brow and in the street, and there it was somewhat drier. The churchyard wicket was at the back of the

King  
 Hacon  
 and the  
 Duke  
 meet.

<sup>1</sup> Shields.

<sup>2</sup> Missiles.

<sup>3</sup> Warrior.

A.D. 1240. Birchshanks, and it was full of Wolfskins. Under  
 April 21st. king Hacon's banner there might be about some twenty  
 King men. He was then come into great risk when the duke  
 Hacon is was before him and above him with many men, but the  
 in great peril. yard gate full of Wolfskins at their back. Then God  
 The duke showed himself merciful towards the king when neither  
 was be- band fell on him, for if either of them had assaulted  
 fore him, him then he would have speedily been in peril, and  
 and the Wolfskins those men who were with him. King Hacon posted  
 behind him his men towards the churchyard gate, but he himself  
 in the church- and the banner turned up towards the duke. There  
 yard. was then a great flight of weapons by the churchyard  
 wicket from stones and shots which the Birchshanks  
 hurled into the churchyard and the Wolfskins out  
 against them. So sang Olaf whiteskald:—

Olaf white-  
 skald's  
 verses.

Sharp bit steel as roaring flood  
 Rolls icicles, with boiling blood  
 The king the linked war-shirts reddened;  
 Woden's gray rainbow 'neath his banner  
 Fell hard on Gondul's canopy.<sup>1</sup>  
 Wound-lightnings<sup>2</sup> smote the host of men.

Then the Wolfskins shut to the churchyard gates,  
 because they could not bear the shower of weapons.

Duke  
 Skuli  
 wished at  
 first to  
 press on,  
 but turned  
 away  
 with his  
 followers.

235. Duke Skuli was on horseback. But when he  
 saw what was happening he called on his men that  
 they should press on. That man stood by him who  
 was called Soni tront, he said to the duke: "Lord, here  
 " is now king Hacon's banner, and here too is the  
 " king himself." The duke answers: "Nevertheless we  
 " will press on," and smote his horse with the spurs.  
 Soni caught the reins and held back the horse. Then  
 the Birchshanks shot some spears at the duke, and  
 they flew near him. So sang Sturla:—

Sturla's  
 verses.

Open-handed was the prince  
 Shafts hurling in the play of swords,  
 But kept hold of mother earth,  
 The spear-God Odin's consort green.

<sup>1</sup> Shields.

| <sup>2</sup> Missiles.

And suddenly after this the duke turned away, and all those who followed him. So says Olaf whiteskald :— A.D. 1240. April 21st.

Never fought with greater valour  
As on that day two mighty lords,  
Henchmen bold stormed sword in hand,  
The prince proved first of all his peers  
Rode off from bloody battle-field,  
And Sverri's kinsman won the day ;  
It was his due by all report ;  
So willed it God, the merciful.

Just then men gathered round the king. And then the king bade Thorstein to turn after the duke with the banner and almost all those men that were there, but he said he did not wish to part from the churchyard wicket before things had been so set in order there that there would be no fear of a back blow thence. The duke turned up along the roads. There came many of his men to meet him, and turned to flight along with him. Sooner than could be thought came Gunnar king's kinsman with his followers to the king, and then they set men to make an onslaught on the churchyard wicket, and made men go up on the houses with bows to drive those down who brought weapons to bear on the Birchshanks. Just then came up Gaut John's son with his followers and drew up under the banner. Then came down from Thorstein Asolf stroke, and said that Thorstein was very short of men with the banner, but that force was gathering fast to the duke. The king sent Gaut John's son with his company up under the banner and many other men ; but he himself drew up the men for an onslaught on the yard wicket.

The duke had turned up to Marta-stock ; but Thorstein homeness after him with that band that followed the banner. Then fell men of the Wolfskins here and there on the roads. There fell Algauti, but his brother Veseti was wounded. They came all but both together at once into the road, Gaut John's son and Olaf of Vigdeild, after he had fled out of the West street.

The king  
sends  
Thorstein  
after the  
duke with  
his banner,  
and stays  
by the  
church-  
yard to  
set things  
straight.

He sends  
more force  
to Thor-  
stein,

A.D. 1240. Olaf had then no other way for it than to turn into April 21st. Laurence Church with his men; but still some of them who pursues the duke to Marta-stock and drives him out of the town. fell outside the churchyard. Gaut asked if Olaf wished for peace. He said he would willingly take it. Gaut bade him be in the church and not trust that peace further. Duke Skuli was at Marta-stock, and there came many men to him. Then he meant to make a stand; but when he saw that Gaut was coming under the banner, and that Thorstein was gathering force, then he turned up the country with that force that was with him. There were then there these his liegemen: Bard downright, Bard wolf, Erling soundhorn, and Veseti the little. The duke rode at once up to Hof to Amundi lawman and ate meat there.

Meanwhile the king storms the churchyard and most of the Wolfskins in it are slain.

236. While they, the duke and the Birchshanks, had these dealings at Marta-stock, then so many men came up from the ships that the Birchshanks threw a ring all round the churchyard so that the Wolfskins had no choice left them to get out. But they had so ordered it inside that there was no getting in anywhere. And when king Hacon had drawn up his men to the onslaught as he wished it to be done against that yard wicket where he himself was, then he went into the Canons' yard and thence into the Preachers' yard. But between Olaf's church and the Canons' yard was a strong paling, but no stone wall. The king made them bring ropes of hide and cables to bear on it, and the paling was pulled down. And when the paling fell there was a great shout in the band of the Birchshanks; for the crash was loud and there was a great noise when the fence fell. But when the Wolfskins heard that, then they were afraid, and ran away from all the yard wickets. The Birchshanks got an entry, and then most part of the Wolfskins fell. So Sturla sang:—

Sturla's  
verses.

The blast of blades blew on the shields,  
And in the storm-wave of the fight  
Furious surf of blood from corpses  
Fell splashing from the foemens fence.



Then there was a great shower of weapons on the A.D. 1240.  
 Wolfskins. Their shields and armour were much April 21st.  
 hewn off them, and many were wounded, but a crowd  
 fell. As Sturla sang:—

The blood-leek bound in iron flew  
 On bare boat of the God of darts  
 And airy flight of Odin's arrows  
 Tore down the fence of grass-green shields.  
 And Fenrir's niece the maid of Yell,<sup>1</sup>  
 Dressed the "fey" heads of princes foes,  
 All in a mask of clotted gore,  
 For feud amid the clash of swords.

Sturla's  
 verses.

William of Torg guarded the south yard wicket; The  
 but Ivar worthy called to him and asked if he would victory is  
 have peace. He answers: "I know not yet which of won.  
 " us twain will need the other's peace," and he smote Some are  
 Ivar a great blow with a stone on the cheek. Then spared  
 said Ivar: "Well, if thou wilt choose the worse thou and many  
 " shalt have it." Then William was slain. But why slain.  
 he would not take peace was that he was already  
 wounded; so that his heel was hewn off. Many  
 Birchshanks knew their friends there; but some did  
 not get peace though they begged for it; but some  
 would not take it, though it were offered. Then the  
 Wolfskins turned to the south door, and so many  
 made for it all at once that they could not get  
 through the gate. There the Wolfskins fell so thick  
 that they lay three or four deep. Then the victory  
 was won. As Sturla sang:—

And aloft the sisters weird  
 Valkyries sung with mouths so shrill,  
 As the host went marching on,  
 A lay of victory round the chief.

Sturla's  
 verses.

At that time they got an entrance, earl Canute and  
 the Birchshanks, who were to the west of the church.  
 But from the bishop's castle where the Wolfskins were,  
 there were some steps up into the church. The  
 Birchshanks brought ships' ropes to bear on them

<sup>1</sup> Death, the niece of Fenris Wolf.

A.D. 1240. and pulled them down, and in there were some Wolf-  
 April 21st. skins who wished to run out of the castle and into  
 the church. There was that man who was called  
 Hacon leek, one of the duke's bodyguard, and more  
 still, and they all lost their lives when the steps  
 fell.

King  
 Hacon  
 turns away  
 from the  
 church  
 and rides  
 out of the  
 town in  
 pursuit  
 of the  
 duke, but  
 cannot  
 overtake  
 him. He  
 returns to  
 Oslo to  
 see that  
 his men do  
 not break  
 the peace  
 of the  
 church.

237. When king Hacon saw that all the Wolfskins  
 were come into the church, those who still stood out  
 and had not had peace given them—Arni rump did  
 not get into the church, and still got peace—then  
 the king turned out of the churchyard, and jumped  
 on a black horse. Those men who followed him  
 looked out for horses, but some ran on foot. The  
 king rode out of the town, and was girt with a  
 sword, but he had a bloody sword in his hand which  
 the Wolfskins had owned. And when he got up on  
 to the road, he might have with him near three  
 hundred men. After that they rode some half a  
 league on the road, and there were no horses on  
 their way. But they took some men, and peace was  
 given to all of them. The king halted and had a  
 talk with his men. He spoke thus: "If my father-  
 " in-law Skuli has ridden off this way then he will  
 " have so taken care that we shall not find it good  
 " for horses; but these are getting very weary which  
 " we are riding. Besides, they have got so far  
 " a-head that we can neither get of them sight  
 " nor hearing. But in the town it had happened, as  
 " ye know, that the Wolfskins had got into the  
 " churches; and I am rather afraid whether our men  
 " will let them hold the churches against whom they  
 " have the greatest quarrels. But I will for no sake  
 " let the peace of the church be broken. We will  
 " now turn back to the town, and nurse our victory.  
 " May the dealings between my father-in-law and  
 " me turn out as God hath provided." After that  
 the king turned back. But the Wolfskins had

blocked up the church doors on the inside, so that they could not be broken open. But the Birchshanks had piled up planks on the outside, so that there was no getting out. The king went first to the bishop; and got absolution first from him and his men after him. After that the bishop let meat be made ready for him, and he took a snack there for a while. They both sat up together at meat, Thorstein homeness and Arni rump. The king was then so good to Arni as though he had always followed him. And so grim as king Hacon had been that day in overcoming his foes, so was it not less remarkable how merciful he was in peacegivings to all those who came into his power. Already that day the dead had been reckoned, and it was some seventy men who lay before Halvard's church door. But that was the reckoning of men that there must have fallen there over three hundred men, and many good men and true out of Drontheim law: Bard of Gudreks-steads, son of Thorstein bowed, and Peter sister's son of Ivar, William of Torg, Grim of Sand, and many other brave fellows.

On Sunday king Hacon held a Thing out in the King's Yard. He gave it out then that all the men of the Wolfskins who sat in the church should have peace. Then men went from this Thing and to the churches, and each then looked after his bosom friend. Then the Wolfskins came all of them to peace, and they were shared among the bands as the king saw fit. After that all the war-spoil was shared which the Wolfskins had owned after the custom of the troops.

King Hacon stayed in Oslo a while. But some seven nights after the battle he sent a force north up the coast in cutters. At their head was Asolf of Eastairt, Ivar Peter's son, Arni black, Clement of Holm, Olaf kidlingsmouth, and Bard Groi's son. They

A.D. 1240.  
April 21st.  
The Wolfskins  
barricade themselves  
in the churches,  
and the king sits  
down to meat with  
the bishop,  
who grants  
absolution  
to him and  
his men.  
The king  
shows  
himself  
very  
merciful  
after his  
victory.

The Wolfskins in the churches  
get peace,  
and the spoil is  
shared  
among the  
victors.

A.D. 1240. had fifteen cutters, and they were to sail as far north April 21st. as Drontheim, and see what happened there. But the king stayed behind in the Bay looking after his business.

The king sends a force in fifteen cutters to Drontheim and stays in the Bay.

The king makes Gregory Andrew's son steward of Borg.

King Hacon had granted the stewardship of Romarick to Gregory son of lord Andrew; but two winters before the strife Gregory had given up the stewardship, and had gone south to Denmark with his men, and was with king Waldemar and made much of. This journey seemed to king Hacon rather strange, as Gregory had not taken leave of him. But in the winter, when the strife broke out, and Skuli had let the title of king be given him, then king Hacon sent Bjarni Moses' son to Denmark to meet Gregory, and bade him come back to Norway, and promised him honours according as he proved his trustiness. Then Gregory came back. And as soon as he came into the Bay they got together a following, and came to the Birchshanks before the battle at Laka; he was also with the king in Oslo. And after this the king bestowed the greatest honour on Gregory, and gave him the stewardship of Borg. Gregory was a wise man, and a proper man all round. And when the spring was wearing on, king Hacon fared away from the Bay and came to Bergen the week before Whit-Sunday. Holy Thursday he lay in Salbjorn's-sound; but in the summer he sat in Bergen.

He then goes to Bergen and spends the summer there.

238. Now it must be told of duke Skuli, that he was with Amundi the lawman, as was before written, and rode thence to Eidsfield, and right up to Molgi that evening. Sunday he went up on to Heidmark, and out to Holy Isle, and there he found his son Peter. He stayed there a little while ere he went back to land. And when he came to Ullinshof he had near a hundred men with him. He had a talk with his men, what was best to be done. Veseti the little



and Thorgils sheath bade the duke turn into East-dale, and thence into Vermland, and east on the Marches into their own country; they said he would not be there half a month before they would have got together to him no less a force than he had at the battle in Oslo. Erling tunehorn and Bard down-right, and those men who were from the north of the land said that they were not used to knock about over fells and forests, and they bade him go north to Drontheim to his friends, and there fit out ships, and said it was Northmen's wont to go on shipboard if they were to continue at strife. And that counsel was taken to turn north. Thorgils and Veseti parted from them, and went east to their own country with their followers. Then the duke turned north into the Dales, and had near ninety men. He marched till he came to Ringaby. Then they learned that the Birchshanks were in their front. Ogmund crowdance was there, and Odd Eric's son, and Eric top. They sat by the bridge. The duke halted at a little farm a short way from the bridge, but his followers went before him to the bridge and let the horns sound. But as soon as the blast was heard the duke rode to the bridge; but the Birchshanks thought that the force must be more than it was, and they did not stand too near the bridge. Then the Wolfskins passed over the bridge. Sontront went with the banner, and Guttorm Jona-dale, Havard downy, Eystein gorcock, Hacon Bard's son, Halkell of Ridge, Havard poll, and more still; but when they got over the bridge they met the Birchshanks. And there fell two of king Hacon's bodyguard, Ivar strawhouse and Björn of Hof. The duke rode over the bridge at once after them, on a white horse named Foot. The duke had a good byrnie and a stout jerkin. The Birchshanks ran up into the hillside, and set more than twenty men to

A.D. 1240.  
April 21st.

Earl Skuli's doings.  
After some consultation he resolves to go north over the fells to Drontheim.  
They kill some Birchshanks on the way, and the duke is nearly killed himself.

A.D. 1240. shoot at the duke; and it was as though his shield Spring. was laced with arrows. The horse had seven point-blank shots so that they pierced him up to the arrow head. The duke too got a point wound through the leg at the ankle. After that the Wolfskins pressed on over the bridge, but the Birchshanks let their attack fall off into the hillsides. Asvard harm was the name of the man who wanted to strip Ivar strawhouse. But while he was at it Arni the low came up who bore the banner of Peter the duke's son, and thought that Ivar must be less wounded than he was, and made a cut at him; but the blow came on Asvard's arm so that it took it nearly off; and they bore him with them north to Steig, but rode on their way afterwards. Another horse was got for the duke, the name of which was Goth-staff. They fared till they got to Drontheim. The duke sent before him from the fell Sigurd hit, Brusi, and some men with them, and they slew one of the king's bodyguard in Updale whose name was Haldor. The Birchshanks went after them north to the fells. They took the life of Asvard, whom the Wolfskins had left behind them at Steig. Duke Skuli was the night at Vang in Updale, and went thence to Nidaros. But when he came thither he and his friends thought they saw that the tempers of men were much turned against him. Many things brought that about; that first that they thought they had gotten great loss of men in Oslo; that next that when king Hacon was sitting in Drontheim they had heard many contradictory stories to those which the duke's men had told at the Eyra-Thing in the autumn, and they reckoned these as more true. There was this besides, that the Drontheimers thought they saw no superiority in the duke as against king Hacon, and they would not hold with the duke in any strife against the king. The

The Birchshanks pursue them.

Duke Skuli comes to Nidaros.

He finds the tempers of men turned against him. They believed in king Hacon and not in the duke.

duke sat that spring in Nidaros, and kept his table A.D. 1240  
 in Broadhall, but he was most at his lodgings, and Spring.  
 had little to say to most men; it was the temper too of  
 most men to have little to say to him. The duke The duke  
 was three nights at the Cross-guild, and rather short in Nidaros.  
 of speech. Then his friends put it to him that he His  
 went about unwarily and took little care of himself. friends  
 The duke says that the Birchshanks could not in a warn him  
 little while pass between the Bay and Drontheim. of his  
 Then it was answered to that, that king Hacon had danger.  
 passed between them sooner that spring than seemed He dis-  
 likely. "And may be it will be so now." And after regards  
 that one cutter was sent out to spy for news on the the warn-  
 firth. ing.

239. Monday morning in the Gang-days<sup>1</sup> Asolf and On the  
 his comrades came with fifteen ships to Nidaros 22nd of  
 unawares. Clement of Holm rowed over off Bakki May  
 with two cutters. But Asolf and his men rowed to Asolf  
 the town with their whole force. Duke Skuli woke and his  
 up when he heard the war-bell. He jumped up at comrades  
 once and put on his clothes and took his arms, and arrive  
 those other men who were there in the house. Then with  
 he sent his swains out into the town and bade that the fifteen  
 Wolfskins and other folk should come up to him at ships.  
 the king's house, and that they should there make a The duke  
 stand against the Birchshanks. But when the swains tries to  
 came back they had got no men. Twice he sent out gather  
 messages to the town and got no men.\* Those men force and  
 who were sent out said thus, that all men were fails.  
 running into the churches. Then the duke asked  
 what was best to be done. There was no bridge on  
 the river Nid. Men said that it was open to him to  
 launch a cutter which stood in the king's yard, and  
 be ferried in her over the river, and then seek to  
 shelter himself in the woods if he would not go into He crosses  
the Nid  
uncertain  
what to do.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Rogation Days.

A.D. 1240. Christ's Church. Then the cutter was launched. Peter the duke's son and his followers were above the king's house; the duke let them be called down to the cutter, and thither some of Peter's followers went, and were put across the river with the duke. But Peter turned in into Christ Church. Bard downright ran into Christ's Church, for he thought himself too heavy to march. The duke went on land across by Skellingcrag. Then he gave orders that they should make their way up to Erlendshow, and turn it over in their minds if they could give a blow to those who had landed at Bakki. But men gave no praise to that, and no other plan was taken but that they made for the ridges, and then let the wood shelter them.

His son Peter takes sanctuary in Christ's Church, and goes thence to Elkshieling. The Birchshanks find that out, and slay him.

Peter the duke's son was but a short while in Christ's Church, and went thence to the Preachers' Church. The Preaching Friars offered him their shelter, and said they would take care of him; but Peter put no trust in that, and went thence to the bishop's house, and four lads with him. There they got a boat and put themselves across the river, and fared till they came to Upper Elkshieling. There Peter went into a house where women were a-baking, and got there some poor clothes and hid himself. The Birchshanks came into the town and ransacked the town. By that time most of the Wolfskins who were inside the town had got into the churches. Bard wolf had run into Cross Church. The Birchshanks had got wind of Peter's doings, how he had put himself across the river to Upper Elkshieling, and they sent a man unto the bakehouse whose name was John cat. But when he came out, he said that Peter was there inside. After that they led him out and slew him there and then. He was not a tall man in his stature, but thickset; more after his mother's stock in his aspect. He was a well-trained



man, a good clerk, and a good Christian; but the A.D. 1240.  
 Wolfskins did not think him daring in war, as his May 24th.  
 forefathers had been. The body of Peter was borne Peter is  
 to the grave. After that the Birchshanks went back buried,  
 to the town. Then messages were sent out on all and the  
 sides into the district to know what had become of Birch-  
 the duke and his men. shanks seek every-  
 where for  
 the duke.

240. Skuli was in the wood, and sent for news The duke  
 thence to Elkshieling monastery, and to other places. is in the  
 Then he got that news that men kept watch and woods  
 ward round the wood, so that he should not get away and his  
 without the knowledge of the Birchshanks. Then men fall  
 men began to fall away from him, those who had off. He  
 followed him; so also those that he sent out came takes  
 shelter in  
 few or none of them back. Erling tunchorn went Elk-  
 further up the country to Tautra and took the cowl shieling  
 there. The duke was two nights in the wood. But monastery.  
 on the Wednesday before Holy Thursday, when the  
 canons were "ganging" with crosses, surplices were  
 brought from the monastery to the duke, and so he  
 walked in procession into the cloister with the  
 brothers. The duke and his men went up into the  
 steeple. After that they were served with a snack  
 and drink, and afterwards his bed was made, and  
 he went to lay him down to sleep, for he was very  
 weary.

241. The Birchshanks got wind that men had The Birch-  
 walked in surplices from the wood to Elk-shieling, shanks  
 and it was guessed that duke Skuli must have been find that  
 there. The Birchshanks ran to their arms at once, out, and  
 and got boats and put themselves across the river. attack the  
 But when archbishop Sigurd was ware of that, he monastery.  
 went out to Elk-shieling, and many priests with him  
 and townsmen and chapmen. As soon as the Birch-  
 shanks made an attack on the cloister, the duke's  
 men shot at them as hard as they could. But when  
 the archbishop came up he forbade the Birchshanks  
 to force the cloister, or to make any strife there.

A.D. 1240. But the Birchshanks said that the cloister was so manned that it was needful to make strife there, whether he thought it good or ill. Then the archbishop bade fee for the duke, that he might go in peace to see the king; but they would not hear of that, unless he laid in pledge the halidom of the saint king Olaf, in case what the duke promised were not fulfilled. Some were so eager that they paid no heed to what the archbishop said, but ran up and set fire to the cloister; but some tried to quench it. But so it came about that the fire began to spread. And when the duke saw that they would burn the cloister, he spoke to his men that they should go out. Then they went to the doors. Then the duke went out, and had his buckler before his face. He then said: "Strike me not in my face, for it is not the custom so to treat princes." After that they put the duke to the sword and all those who came out with him: Soni trout, Eystein gorcock, Aslak dint, Halkell of Ridge, Havard pole, Brusi, and Arni mariall. Master Berg was wounded to the death, but still healed. As Sturla says:—

Sturla's  
verses.

Now it shall be told in story,  
Later on the noble duke  
Laid down at last his life of glory  
In the corpse-car by Nid's shore:

Skuli kinsman of the king  
Crossed Yell's bridge by wound of sword,  
A fitful fever, and around him  
Fell liegemen of the mighty man.

As soon as the duke was fallen, men came and tried to quench the fire; that did not come about, and all the cloister was burnt down.

242. The body of duke Skuli was borne down on a shield to the town, and there it was laid out. The body stood up in Nicholas church. The morning after Asolf and his comrades and the Birchshanks went to the archbishop, and begged for absolution from him.

That business was not settled quickly. But still so A.D. 1240.  
 it came about that they were absolved, so that they Duke  
 might have dealings with men till king Hacon had Skuli is  
 been seen, and it were known what course he would Christ  
 take as to these great deeds. After that the funeral Church.  
 of the duke was made, and it was done in the most His  
 honourable way; and he was buried in Christ Church character  
 in the south aisle, just under where he had made the and per-  
 grave of his brother king Ingi up in the stone-wall. sonal  
 There stood over the grave archbishop Sigurd, and appearance.  
 all the canons, and many other priests, and the towns-  
 folk and many Birchshanks. The day of the duke's  
 death is the ninth day of the calends of June. He  
 was then one winter over fifty. Duke Skuli's death  
 was a great grief to many a man, and specially to  
 his friends, for he was one of the most beloved of  
 men. He had many gifts towards that; first kindness  
 and good company; along with these, generosity and  
 open-handedness, so he spared scarcely anything to  
 his men. To many men he gave titles, or got them  
 good matches, or brought them to some other thriving  
 who set their hearts on him; and for such things he  
 became much beloved. Duke Skuli gave the estate  
 at Rein, his father's inheritance, for a cloister, and  
 let a noble stone-minster be built there, and set up  
 there a nunnery and gave great store of money to it.  
 There are many other remarkable things to be told  
 of his behaviour though they are not written here.  
 Duke Skuli was rather a tall man, and slender made,  
 light brown of hair, and with the best hair that a  
 man could have, straight featured and fair of face;  
 and very well eyed. He was of all men the most  
 courteous and polished; ready with his tongue, and a  
 good talker at Things. He had then in him most  
 things which should adorn a prince. And men would  
 have said, if that unlucky year had not come over  
 him that he last lived, that no man had been born

A.D. 1240. in Norway who had shown himself a better man of those who have not come in the direct line of the kings. The duke left no son behind him, that men knew of a certainty. But this is to be looked for, with God's mercy, that Norway will long pride herself on his offspring.

The Birchshanks leave Nidaros, and Asolf sends a messenger to Bergen to tell king Hacon of the duke's death.

243. After this great deed, which we have now spoken of for a while, the Birchshanks went away out of Nidaros; those north to Helgeland who had their homes there, but those south who were thence. Stephen Tumi's son-in-law was the name of the man who bore the letters of Asolf and his comrades which were sent to the king. And when Stephen came to Bergen it was told the king that a man was come from the north from Asolf and his men. Then the king let him be called into his lodging to him. And when he came thither the king was sitting in that same room and that same seat as when in the winter Grim back-bent came to him. Stephen brought out the letters. And when the king had read the letters, then he began to speak: "In this letter are " great tidings twain; and it is ill-tidings that the " cloister at Elkshieling has been burnt down; but " the others are these that duke Skuli, my father-in-law, is dead." After that the horns were blown for a summons, and the king told all his court the tidings; and men felt them much, and the queen most of all.

News from Denmark.

King Hacon sat in Bergen the summer through after these tidings and made ready for sitting there in the winter, and sat there the winter over. This was the twenty-fourth winter of his reign. The winter after at the Fast great tidings happened in Denmark; then king Waldemar, son of king Waldemar, the son of Canute, died, who at that time was the most famous king in the Northern lands. He had then been king of Denmark one winter short of forty winters. To the realm after him came king



Eric his son, and he had been already five winters A.D. 1241. king together with his father.

In the spring after that king Hacon set out on his voyage east to the Bay; but he sent north to Drontheim John twice-shorn, and he cut off Sigurd hit; he was a Wolfskin, and had not come to terms with the king. Then Gaut John's son let Arnfin Thiof's son be slain. But one spring earlier Bjarni Moses' son slew Jatgeir the skald in Copenhagen; he had then come down out of Sweden, and had travelled round by the eastern way, as was before written, after that Gunnar the king's kinsman had taken the letters from him in Helsingland. King Hacon fared east to the Bay. And when he came east to Borg there he met Gregory son of lord Andrew, brother of king Philip. He then set up his wooing and begged for the hand of Cecilia the king's daughter. King Hacon took that well, and that match came to fulfilment somewhat later, as shall be spoken of further on. King Hacon fared thence to the King's Crag, and meant to meet Eric the Swede-king; for the Swedes then made great complaint against king Hacon when he had burnt Vermland. But king Eric was then up in Gothland, and could not meet king Hacon; but he sent to him lord Byrgir his brother-in-law, who then had to wife Ingibjorg king Eric's sister. When king Hacon came to the King's Crag that man came to him whose name was Matthew, sent from the emperor Frederick with many noble gifts. Along with him came from abroad five Bluemen [negroes]. King Hacon went in the summer back to Bergen, and stayed there some time in the autumn. In that same year pope Gregory died in Rome, and Innocent came after him. That same autumn Gizur Thorvald's son took the life of Snorri Sturla's son at Reykholt in Iceland. King Hacon fared in the autumn north to Drontheim, and sat

King  
Hacon  
fares to  
the Bay.

At Borg  
he agrees  
that  
Gregory  
shall  
marry his  
daughter  
Cecilia.

He goes  
to the  
King's  
Crag and  
receives  
messen-  
gers and  
gifts from  
the em-  
peror  
Frederick.

Gizur  
Thorvald's  
son kills  
Snorri  
Sturla's son  
at Reyk-  
holt in  
Iceland.

A.D. 1242. there through the winter. This was the five-and-twentieth winter of his reign.

King  
Hacon  
spends  
that winter  
in Dront-  
heim.  
There  
Gregory  
and Ce-  
cilia are  
married.

244. In the spring came from the south over the fell lord Gregory, and then kept his bridal, and got lady Cecilia the king's daughter. Then the king made a worthy feast, and afterwards busked him south to Bergen, and was there that summer. That autumn came from Iceland Orækja Snorri's son, and they had seized him, Kolbein the young and Gizur, and sent him abroad. He put himself into the power of king Hacon at Bergen, and he quickly forgave him his wrath which he harboured against him for leaving the realm under his ban. But still the king said that he was worthier to die for that guilt than his father for his. "And his father would not have died if he had come to seek me." Orækja went to the king, and was with him that winter.

The king  
goes to  
Bergen  
and means  
to go to  
the Bay  
for Yule,  
but he  
only went  
as far  
east as  
Stavanger  
and thence  
turned  
back to  
Bergen.

The king was good to him. That winter king Hacon sat in Bergen. This winter was the twenty-sixth winter of his reign. That summer the king was in Bergen, and meant in the autumn to go east to the Bay, and stay there that winter. The king lingered in Bergen because he had many things to settle. Men came to him too from the west across the sea and from other lands, who had business with him; and so he was very late "boun" in the autumn, and great storms set in. And when he came south off Rogaland, then he turned in to Stavanger, and stayed there a while. But because that it then began to be winter and the weather to worsen, he took that counsel to turn back to Bergen; and there he sat that winter. And this was the twenty-seventh winter of his reign.

245. At that time when king Hacon ruled Norway Alexander was king in Scotland, son of William the Scot-king. He was a great prince, and very greedy of this world's honour. He sent men from

the west from Scotland to king Hacon, two bishops at first. They had that errand to find out, if he would give up that realm in the Southern Isles which Alexander claimed that king Magnus barefoot had won with some unfairness from Malcolm the Scot-king, his kinsman. But the king answered thus to that; that he well knew that those two, king Magnus and Malcolm, had agreed it all between them what realm the Northmen should have in Scotland or those small isles which lay close to it. But he said that the Scot-king at that time had no power in the Southern Isles themselves when king Magnus won them from king Godred; and even then king Magnus claimed them as seeking back the inheritance of his fathers. And when the messengers heard this decision, then they said that the Scot-king wished to buy all the Southern Isles from king Hacon, and bade him value them in burnt silver. King Hacon answers thus, that he did not know he was so much in want of silver that he needed to sell lands for it. With that the messengers went their way. But the Scot-king sought for this often, and sent about it many messages, and the Scots got here no other answer than that which has now been said.

A.D. 1242  
-45.

King  
Alexander  
of Scot-  
land sends  
two  
bishops to  
treat with  
king  
Hacon for  
the sale  
of the  
Southern  
isles.  
King  
Hacon  
refuses.

246. That same winter which is now spoken of, when king Hacon sat in Bergen and Orækja came from abroad from Iceland, then Gizur Thorvald's son came also from abroad to seek king Hacon. And that same summer Thord kakali got leave to go to Iceland; and he had then many quarrels with Kolbein Arnor's son those three winters that he sat in the West Firths. When king Hacon had sat two winters in Bergen, as was before written, then he went in the spring north to Drontheim and sat there some while. That spring abbot Bjorn came back into the land. He sent men before him to king Hacon, and begged that he might be at peace with him, and

Abbot  
Björn  
returns,  
makes his  
peace with  
the king,  
and dies.

A.D. 1242  
-1243.

said that he had good tidings to bear. The king granted him that kindly, and bade him to come and be with him as soon as he liked. And when he met king Hacon he brought him the pope's greeting and blessing, with letters and such fair messages that scarce ever have such fair letters come into Norway from the pope. The abbot was with the king that summer. But when it wore away, the king busked him north. Then the abbot went with him. King Hacon fared as far east as the Bay in the autumn. And then bishop Worm in Oslo died. King Hacon sat that winter in the Bay; but abbot Bjorn went north, and meant to go back to Holm; but he got no further north than Selja, and there he died.

The abbot brought letters and messages from the pope to the king in such flattering terms that the king wishes the pope to send some prelate to crown him. The archbishop and bishops try to make capital out of this request,

247. This was the twenty-eighth winter of king Hacon's reign. But when king Hacon thought over that fair letter which pope Innocent had written to him, then he sent word to archbishop Sigurd and the other bishops. But when they met the king bade the bishops write with him to the pope, and ask leave to crown the king. The bishops took this well.<sup>1</sup> And sooner than could be thought they gave their answer, and said they would write with him on condition that he should give them good privileges if they did him the good turn better than others had done it. They let this also go with their answer that he should take the same form of oath under the crown which king Magnus Erling's son had taken when he was crowned. Then king Hacon answers: "Our kings have already granted you such privileges that I scarcely know how I should be able to increase them; but still ye have made more use of them than was meant when they were granted. But if we swear such an oath as king Magnus swore, then it seems to us as though our honour would be les-

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<sup>1</sup> The bishops said they would do his pleasure in that.



"sened by it rather than increased; for king Magnus A.D. 1243.  
 "cared not what oath he took if he only got what but the  
 "had not rightfully come to him. But with God's king will  
 "mercy, then we think that we stand in no need to not hear  
 "beg or to barter with you, when God has chosen of any  
 "us lawfully after our fathers and forefathers. And such con-  
 "this ye shall know that by God's mercy I will ditions,  
 "come to the crown as freely and without all hard and some  
 "conditions as we shall be able to wear it afterwards time after  
 "freely as good kings; else it shall never come on our sent mes-  
 "head, if God will that so it be." Some time after sengers to  
 king Hacon sent men to the pope, and begged of him the pope  
 that he would send some one of his cardinals to do him to  
 the king that honour to consecrate him under the send a  
 crown. cardinal  
 to crown  
 him.

248. King Hacon sat in Bergen the winter after the King  
 bishop's meeting, and this was the twenty-ninth winter Hacon  
 of his reign. That summer after came from Iceland spends that  
 Gizur and Thord, and had then made atonement in winter in  
 Bergen.  
 all their matters with the king. Then had Thord  
 fought in Skagafirth with Brand Kolbein's son the  
 spring before, and there fell many men on both sides,  
 and picked men. King Hacon went in the autumn  
 north to Drontheim and laid in stores there for sitting  
 there that winter. And when the winter wore away  
 came messages from abroad from Rome from the king's  
 messengers, which said that that same year would The pope  
 come some one of the cardinals into the land, and do answers  
 that he  
 will send  
 a cardinal  
 next year.  
 all the greatest honour he could do the king according  
 to the pope's command. And then the king revealed  
 this to the archbishop, and bade him send after all  
 the bishops and abbots, and the most discreet of the  
 learned men. The king sent also word to the liegemen  
 and lawmen and his bodyguard, and the best of the  
 freemen; he bade them busk them as worthily as they  
 could and come to Bergen that summer. King Hacon

A.D. 1245  
-1246.

The king  
makes  
great pre-  
parations  
for the  
coronation.

sent ships west to England and to other lands in the spring to gather those stores which seemed to him to be most lacking in Norway, to welcome the cardinal as he wished, and as beseemed them both. Earl Canute was in Drontheim, and had sat there some three or four winters, and had always four districts in Drontheim, and Naumdale, and half of Sogn.

A.D. 1246  
-1247.

The  
cardinal  
comes to  
England,  
and the  
English  
try to  
frighten  
him. He  
refuses to  
believe  
them, and  
sails for  
Norway.

249. King Hacon fared in the spring out of Drontheim, and earl Canute, and many other good and noble men from the north of the land. Then had king Hacon been thirty winters king. And when he came to Bergen then he took thought with the counsel of wise men how he should make ready beforehand what was most worthy.—But of the cardinal's doings it is to be said that he came in the spring from the south into England, and king Henry made him good cheer. It was also told him, by the Englishmen, for envy's sake against the men of Norway, that he would get no honour there, and hardly any meat and no drink but sour whey (bland); and the Englishmen dissuaded him as much as they could against going to Norway, and frightened him both with the sea and the grimness of the folk, if he got thither. The cardinal answers in this way: "When I was more far from Norway than I now am, then I heard better things said of that folk which dwells there than as you now say. It has been told me that there are there many good Christian men, and a wise and discerning king. Their archbishop I have seen, and he seemed to me like a good lord; so also have I heard that there there are prudent bishops; and I ween that much other good will follow this. Besides I have to them these two errands, which I trust will be acceptable to all men. One to declare to them Jesus Christ the true son of God; the other to crown their king with God's mercy and the pope's foresight. But for this I

“care not if meat or drink be lacking to me there.” A.D. 1247.  
—After that the cardinal busked him for his voyage to Norway; and went on shipboard.

Cardinal William came to Norway from abroad on the eve of St. Botolf at that isle called Siri, and sent on men before him to tell the king of his coming. It was pretty much at the same time that the messengers came to the king and the cardinal came sailing after them at once in his ship into the voe, and that was very late in the day. The king sent men to meet him, to offer him all things in the most worthy way. But he answers thus to the messengers that he would abide by the king's counsel as to his doings. But in the morning, when the hours had been sung, the king went to his ship; it was a five-and-twenty-bencher with gilded heads; and in good trim. That ship was called the Dragon. The king boarded her with his bodyguard; but all the stewards who were in the town ran out their ships and rowed thither where the cardinal lay. The cardinal had an English galley. The king called to him the liegemen and captains of the bodyguard, and afterwards fared in the ship to the cardinal, and then there were very kind greetings, and so they fared in to the gangways. A fair procession was made to meet the cardinal by the bishops and clerks and cloister-folk. But after that the king let them blow the horns for a Thing out in Christ's Church yard. And when the cardinal came to the Thing, then he began his discourse in this wise:

250. “I will make it known to all men that by God's mercy and the pope's foresight I came into this land to preach to men the name of Jesus Christ, and crown your king; these are my two errands. He did not send on this errand a single priest, or a clerk with little power, and none of his cardinals save me, with the title of bishop, and as great power to bind or to loose all matters as though

The cardinal arrives in Norway on the 17th of June.

The king meets the cardinal in his ship called the Dragon.

The cardinal's speech at the Thing.

A.D. 1247. " the pope himself were here, because he would that  
 " this should be so done as would be most to the  
 " king's honour." After that he spoke to the people  
 of many matters of faith, and afterwards he gave  
 them all his blessing and good leave to go home.  
 After that they, the king and the cardinal, often  
 talked together, and there was naught in the cardi-  
 nal's speeches but the greatest honour to the king.  
 The cardinal talked often to the bishops that were  
 there. The archbishop came last of them all; but  
 after they had talked together, the king thought he  
 found out then something else had been talked before  
 him than had at first been in his own purpose.

The car-  
 dinal and  
 the arch-  
 bishop and  
 bishops  
 consult  
 together.

The king  
 and the  
 cardinal  
 discuss  
 matters ;  
 and the  
 cardinal,  
 set on by  
 the clergy,  
 tries to  
 persuade  
 the king  
 to grant  
 the church  
 fresh  
 privileges  
 in return  
 for the  
 coronation.  
 The king  
 replies  
 that he  
 would  
 sooner  
 not be  
 crowned  
 at all than  
 grant such  
 privileges ;

251. One day while they were at talk in Christ  
 Church, the king and the cardinal, then the cardinal  
 began his speech in this way: " For as much, lord  
 " king," he said, " as ye intend to receive more honour  
 " from Holy Church than any king before received  
 " in Norway, so we expect that you will be willing  
 " to grant to Holy Church what others have granted  
 " before you, and with good exchange. So also must  
 " you be willing to take the like oath which king  
 " Magnus took, who was the first king crowned in  
 " the land." King Hacon answers to this: " I find  
 " now, lord, that these words are not less out of  
 " other men's mouths than of your own self. But  
 " these privileges we will willingly grant to Holy  
 " Church and to her ministers, that she may have  
 " such freedom here as is settled in these lands, in  
 " which both have their freedom and their honour,  
 " Holy Church and the king's estate. But though  
 " any kings may have granted that which they had  
 " no right to grant, except for themselves alone, then  
 " we will for all that make no mischief either for our-  
 " selves or for those that come after us. And shortly  
 " to say, if ye wish to give us any kind of bargain  
 " crown, we would sooner wear no crown at all than



“ take any thralldom upon us. And you need not stir  
 “ this matter more often before us.” “ Lord king,”  
 answers the cardinal, “ Let this not mislike you, for  
 “ so it shall be as you will.” After that the cardinal  
 sent word to the archbishop and suffragan bishops  
 and canons, and spoke these words to them : “ I spoke  
 “ to the king those words which I was begged to  
 “ speak ; but it seems to me that he has the truth  
 “ more on his side than those who ask another thing ;  
 “ and therefore I wish that you should know that I  
 “ will ask for naught else henceforth ; but crown  
 “ the king as freely as beseems the kingly honour ;  
 “ but as for this there is no need to speak of it  
 “ oftener.”

252. Many matters of business the king brought  
 before the cardinal on behalf of his subjects ; and the  
 cardinal amended them as he got them. He con-  
 secrated the Apostles' Church in the king's court,  
 which king Hacon had let be built, and gave it a  
 great and perpetual indulgence. And when it was  
 spoken of what day the king should be consecrated,  
 then the cardinal said it should be on the feast of  
 some one of the Apostles. But for that the king was  
 descended from the saint king Olaf, then he would  
 rather receive that honour on his high-feast. After  
 that all things were laid in which were needful. At  
 that time during the summer the weather was very  
 hard for rain, so that no arrangements could be made  
 out of doors. Men urged this, that the king should  
 hold his feast in those two halls of wood which were  
 in the king's yard. King Hacon had let them build  
 a great house out under Knar, which was meant for  
 a shed for ships ; it was ninety ells long and sixty  
 broad. One day when they were walking thither,  
 the king and the cardinal, then the king said : “ For  
 “ as much, lord, as we have no big house, does it  
 “ seem good to you that we make our feast here, so

A.D. 1247.

and begs  
the car-  
dinal not  
to stir the  
matter  
again.The car-  
dinal sides  
with the  
king.It is  
settled  
that the  
coronation  
shall be  
on St.  
Olaf's day,  
July the  
29th.  
The coro-  
nation  
banquet is  
to be held  
in a great  
shed for  
ships  
which the  
king had  
built some  
time  
before.

A.D. 1247. "that more folk may be by us?" The cardinal answers: "Methinks this is the best of those which "are to be found." After that the king let that house be fitted out with all the best materials which belonged to it.

A list of the prelates and nobles who were to attend it.

253. This consecration was fixed for St. Olaf's day. There were at it these chiefs: William the cardinal, Sigurd the archbishop, Henry bishop of Holm, Arni bishop of Bergen, Askel bishop of Stavanger, Thorkel bishop of Oslo, and Paul bishop of Hammar. These chiefs of the laymen: king Hacon and king Hacon the young his son, earl Canute, squire Magnus, and Sigurd John's son. These were the liegemen: Gaut John's son, Lodin Gunni's son, Peter Paul's son, Gunnar the king's kinsman, Munan bishop's son, Finn Gaut's son, Brynjolf John's son, John queen, and Sigurd bishop's son. There were ten abbots, archdeacons, and provosts, and most of the canons of all the sees in the land; five lawmen; the king's marshals and stewards, and all the body-guard, together with the best freemen out of every province. There too was a crowd of outlandish men. At that time there were such great rainfalls that it poured both day and night; for that sake awnings were put up made of cloth, both green and red, between the king's house and Christ Church door, both up overhead and outside on either hand. But in the king's courtyard were land-tents, and so one could go to his lodging without harm of the wet.

The weather is very bad and rainy.

The coronation on St. Olaf's day.

254. The eve of St. Olaf's day was on Sunday. But on the feast day itself the hours were sung all over the town; and after mass all the folk were called by the blast of the horns out into Christ Church yard. Eighty of the body-guard were clad in mail from head to foot and set to march out of the king's yard to Christ Church to clear the way. But this was the array on the king's going to church:

First came the body-guard, which cleared the way, two by two; next to them came two banner-bearers with two banners; next to them the stewards and sewers in fine clothes; then the liegemen with drawn swords; next to them three liegemen who had a great table-board between them, and on it all the king's robes and consecration clothes; then came Sigurd the king's son, and Munan bishop's son, and they bore two royal sceptres of silver, on one was a golden cross and on the other an eagle of gold. Next came king Hacon the young and bore the crown, and earl Canute and bore the sword of consecration. Archbishop Sigurd and ten other bishops led the king between them. Next to that at the gate into the king's yard the bishops and abbots and other clerks came to meet him with a procession, and began the response "*Ecce mitto angelum*," and so they walked out to the church. The cardinal stood in the church doors, and with him two bishops and his clerks, and they began a psalm anew; and so they led the king to the altar. After that a mass was sung, and the (coronation) service went on in the proper form. And when mass was over the archbishop followed the king home, and the other bishops, to his lodging in the same fashion as before, singing praise to God. After that the king put off his coronation robes, and put on the whole royal array, and bore the crown that day.

After that king Hacon went to the building where the feast was to be, with all the folk. At Little Christ Church he met the cardinal, and they went both together, and all the folk with them. The house was all hung with dyed cloth and good quilts, with silk and pell (velvet) shot with gold. But the seats were so arranged in the building that on the north side by the inner pillars sat the king. The cardinal sat on the king's right hand, then the archbishop, then the bishop of Bergen, and the other bishops one after

A.D. 1247,  
28th-29th  
July.  
The king  
is crowned.

The coro-  
nation  
feast.

A.D. 1247. the other. On the right wall towards the sea sat  
 How the the abbots, friars, provosts, and other learned clerks.  
 guests In mid-hall over against the high seat was made  
 were another high seat, and there sat king Hacon the  
 seated. young and earl Canute and Sigurd the king's son,  
 and beyond them the liegemen. The queen sat on  
 the king's left hand, and next to her lady Ragnhild  
 her mother; then lady Christine, then lady Cecilia the  
 king's daughter; then lady Rangrid, then abbesses,  
 and after them other women, so long as the seats  
 held out. By the south wall sat the king's body-  
 guard; there were two rows of seats there the whole  
 length of the house, and out beyond them sat the  
 "guests," also on two rows of seats. In all there  
 were thirteen rows of seats the whole length of the  
 house. There was a great crowd in tents round  
 about who could not find room inside. The first dish  
 these liegemen bore in: Munan bishop's son and  
 Brinjolf John's son, Gunnar king's kinsman, and Si-  
 gurd bishop's son. The first cup the young king  
 Hacon poured out for his father; but earl Canute  
 to the cardinal, Sigurd bishop's son to the queen,  
 and Munan to the archbishop. And then they went  
 to their seats.

The car-  
 dinal's  
 speech.

255. When men had hardly taken their fill then  
 the cardinal called for silence, and spoke first to men  
 of holy faith. Afterwards he spoke thus: "Praised  
 " be God that I have this day fulfilled that errand  
 " which was charged on me on behalf of holy Rome  
 " and the lord Pope, and all the cardinals; and now  
 " is your king crowned, and thoroughly honoured, so  
 " that no king can have gotten such honour before  
 " in Norway. Praised be God also for this that I  
 " did not go back on my course as I was urged. It  
 " was told me that I should here see few men;  
 " but even though I saw some, then they would be  
 " liker to beasts in their behaviour than to men;  
 " but now I see here a countless multitude of the



" folk of this land, and, as it seems to me, with good  
 " behaviour. So also I see here a great host of out-  
 " landish men; and such a crowd of ships that I  
 " have never seen more ships in one haven; and I  
 " trow also that almost all of them have come hither  
 " laden with good things. I was made much afraid  
 " that I should have here got little bread and little  
 " other food, and what there was of it bad; but now  
 " there seems to me to be such a store of good things  
 " that ships and houses are full of them. It was also  
 " told me that I should get no drink here, save whey  
 " and water. But now praised be God, that I see all  
 " good things here which are to be had, and which  
 " are better to have than to miss. Now may the  
 " Lord God keep our kings and queens and bishops  
 " and learned clerks and all the folk; and grant me  
 " that my errand hither may be a comfort to you  
 " and to all of us, both in this world and the other."  
 After that the cardinal went away and his people.  
 So sang Sturla of these tidings:—

Such grace of God's own son was granted  
 To Hacon in auspicious hour,  
 A venerable chief of Christendom  
 Hallowed him as king in peace.

Sturla's  
 verses.

And of high soul set the crown  
 Upon the royal Hacon's head,  
 What time the daring cardinal came  
 To Bergen by the pope's command.

And again he says thus:—

Famous made thee, gold-despiser.  
 William cardinal by blessing;  
 Ne'er was such a lordly man  
 Sent hither by the holy father,

Noble king, the Christian chief  
 Thee covered with a royal crown  
 O sceptre-wielder! thou hast held  
 With honour this renowned realm.

King Hacon sat on after the cardinal went, and  
 all the folk with him until the boards were cleared  
 and "Mary's-mind" came. After that the king greeted

King  
 Hacon  
 sits on  
 after the  
 cardinal  
 left.

A.D. 1247, the people and thanked them for their coming thither.  
 July 30th- In that same building the feast was kept up for  
 31st. three days in the same fashion, and there was enough  
 The feast was kept up for and to spare of good things with the greatest goodwill  
 three days. As Sturla says:—

Sturla's  
 verses.

And that feast of Horda's monarch  
 Spread to the very skirts of heaven,  
 Showing how the Völsung revelled  
 On the day that he was hallowed.

Never king more famous feasters  
 Called together 'neath one roof  
 Never monarch east or west  
 Of reindeer-land such gallant folk.

There was no lack there of good table furniture  
 and everything was well chosen there. As is here  
 said:—

There the cups of gold went round  
 Foaming in the grasp of friends,  
 And the thanes with heartfelt gladness  
 Quaffed the wave that heals all ills.

Bulwarks of the golden vessels  
 Struck the teeth-rocks of the coast,  
 And metheglin's honeyed flood  
 Streamed down within the ribs of men.

Another  
 feast for  
 five days  
 in the sea-  
 hall.

The car-  
 dinal is  
 present,  
 and re-  
 fuses to  
 ask the  
 king to  
 give up  
 some of  
 his imposts  
 to the  
 church,  
 but tells  
 the clergy  
 to relax  
 some of  
 the dues  
 they  
 claimed  
 from the  
 people.

After that the king held his feast for five days in  
 the sea-hall in the king's court-yard. The cardinal  
 was there and all the bishops and most of their folk,  
 liegemen and lawmen, and all the picked men of the  
 land. The whole feast lasted eight days. Every day  
 they had speech of one another, the king and the  
 cardinal, the bishops and liegemen and lawmen, and  
 spoke of the business of the land, and of learned  
 clerks and holy churches. The bishops took that  
 counsel with the cardinal that he would ask the king  
 to give up some of his imposts to holy church. The  
 cardinal answers: "Forasmuch as the king is over all  
 " the land and the whole realm is his, and it seems  
 " to you that he should lessen some of his rights on  
 " the people, then you too should give up each after  
 " his wealth something of his gains both in land

“ dues and other tolls which ye receive. But if ye A.D. 1247.  
 “ will not do this, then I cannot ask the king to  
 “ minish his income.” And after that no one spoke  
 any more of that matter. Then the freemen made it  
 a great grievance that the bishops took tythe of the Grievances  
of the  
freemen,  
 churches, and increased with them their revenues, or clerks,  
farmers,  
and fisher-  
men.  
 took the churches themselves to them. But the  
 cardinal gave a careful decision on this, and said  
 that the churches should freely hold their tythes and  
 other dues, just as the bishops held theirs. Then the  
 clerks too raised the question that the bishops took  
 fees or releases from priests though they never came  
 into the district. The cardinal said this was both  
 against God’s laws and those of Holy Church; and  
 said they should get nothing if they did not travel;  
 except only if they were sick, or went at the king’s  
 bidding to him or the archbishop. Then the freemen  
 also complained that they had to pay fines if they  
 saved their crops on holy days, or caught fish if God  
 sent them. Then the cardinal made that order that  
 men should house their hay or corn, and do all need-  
 ful work, and fish for herring if God sent them,  
 except on the greatest feasts. Then too the cardinal The car-  
dinal  
forbids  
ordeals.  
 forbade ordeals, and said it did not beseem Christian  
 men to put God to an oath to bear witness in the  
 affairs of men. Many other ordinances the cardinal  
 made which cannot all be spoken of here.

256. At that time king Eric Waldemar’s son ruled Affairs of  
Denmark.  
 over Denmark. But after the death of Waldemar  
 variance sprang up between those brothers king Eric  
 and duke Abel, who was then duke over Jutland.  
 Then the Danes fell to strife also with the men of King  
Eric’s  
quarrel  
with the  
Lübeckers.  
 Lübeck, and out of that arose great strife among the  
 chapmen who sailed through Denmark. In Græning-  
 sound the Danes had taken some ships of the Northmen  
 and plundered all of them, and further the Northmen  
 were robbed both by the Danes and Lübeck-men. But

A.D. 1247. that summer when cardinal William was in Bergen, then king Hacon had let all those ships be seized which had come from Denmark and those who sailed to Vendland, and some barks of the German men, and their goods had been taken into the king's keeping. But those men who owned the goods went to the cardinal and begged his mercy that he would ask the king that they might have their goods. The cardinal backed this before the king, and besought him to have mercy on them for his sake; and said they ought to have more hope of this, because they were not guilty in this matter, "though robbers in Denmark or Lübeck " rob men as they are sailing with their cargoes." King Hacon says thus that he would for the cardinal's word let these men get their goods; but he said it was not to be looked for that he would always put up with the strife and wrong of the Danes, which they set on foot against the Northmen, in robbery and even in man-slaying. And the chapmen got their goods; and were well pleased with the king and the cardinal. That summer when cardinal William was in Bergen Henry Kar's son was consecrated to be bishop in the see of Holar in Iceland.

The cardinal declares that Iceland ought to be subject to king Hacon.

257. Then was that order made as to Iceland with the advice of the cardinal that that people who dwelt there should be subject to king Hacon; for he called it unfair that that land should not be subject to some king like all others in the world. Then Thord kakali was sent out with bishop Henry. They were to back that business with the land-folk, that all should agree to come under king Hacon's rule, and pay such gifts in skatt as beseemed them. That summer bishop Olaf was sent to Greenland. Bishop Olaf was to have the same business thither. Gizur Thorvald's son stayed behind in Norway. They came to Iceland in the autumn, bishop Henry and Thord kakali, and Thord went to Borgar-firth, and Thord took under his rule



that realm which Sturla Sighvat's son had owned, and Snorri Sturla's son his father's brother, and the same property. He also took to him by the king's power the realm of Thorleif of Gardar for that he had come out in the king's ban, as was before written. And when Thord came north in the winter, then those men, who were most foes of Thord, had raised their grievances before the bishop; and he had taken their business into his keeping. And from this the friendship of the bishop and Thord began to be spoilt, until they could agree on no one thing. The bishop was two winters in Iceland; and after that went out of the country to seek the king, and was the greatest enemy of Thord ever after; but they threw their friendship together, bishop Henry and Gizur, and backed that before the king, that his business would go better in Iceland if they were sent thither.

258. Now have been told some tidings of the meeting of king Hacon and cardinal William; but there were many profitable arrangements made at their meeting which are not here written. But in all those orders that they made, the cardinal set to them his letters patent and seal, and laid under God's ban and wrath every one who did not keep them. And after that the cardinal said that he would have leave out of the land. Then the king gave him good leave, and allowed most of the men to go home. After that the king let them fit out a twenty-bencher, and ten cutters, and a ship of burthen. And the cardinal fared away with these ships, and king Hacon gave him his kinsman Gunnar as captain with him. King Hacon gave the cardinal great gifts and his men; he also gave the archbishop and other bishops good gifts, and all the liegemen, and the best of the freemen.

As Sturla sang:—

And there sat the lord of men  
Gold-loathing on his throne of gift,  
Each man from the arm-rings giver  
Got whate'er the people sought.

Sturla's  
verses.

A.D. 1247,  
August.  
Dis-  
sen-  
sions in  
Iceland.

The car-  
dinal lays  
his ban  
on all  
those who  
do not  
observe  
his ordi-  
nances,  
and leaves  
Norway in  
a king's  
ship.  
King  
Hacon's  
generosity.

A.D. 1247  
-1248.  
Sturla's  
verses.

There ran then to all the lieges  
Arm-rings up the asker's arm;  
On every perch of hawk<sup>1</sup> was gleaming  
The good king's arm-sun shining bright.

From the monarch's generous fingers  
Purest meal of gold-dust drifted  
Down upon the tried hawk-perches  
Of his band of noble men.

Courtiers bore their arms well-laden  
With sea-fire<sup>2</sup> which they had gathered,  
As the golden dust dropped down  
From the prince's open hand.

The king  
attends  
the car-  
dinal when  
he leaves  
Bergen.

King Hacon led the cardinal out into Floravoe with all his ships, and they parted with the greatest love. The cardinal was rather slow in getting a breeze east to Stavanger, and there he stayed a while. Thence he fared to Tunsberg, and afterwards to Oslo, and in all places that he came to he settled the business of men. Out of Oslo he fared to the King's Crag. And he let a great Thing be summoned there, and thither came to meet him many men from Gothland; and his speech was the same as before that he thanked God that he had come to Norway. After that he fared east into Sweden. And thence out to the pope, and was afterwards the greatest friend of the Northmen.

The car-  
dinal re-  
turns to  
Rome by  
the Bay  
and Swe-  
den.

259. King Hacon began his voyage in the autumn after the consecration to the Bay and meant to stay there that winter. Then came from the west from the Southern Isles Harold king of Man, son of Olaf Godred's son, and went east with the king. King Hacon sat that winter in Oslo, and this was the thirty-first winter of his reign. At that time Eric Eric's son was king in Sweden, a sister's son of Waldemar king of Denmark. But earl Ulf the courteous had most to do with ruling the land in Sweden, together with the king; he was son of earl Karl the deaf, and was a great friend of king Hacon and the

King  
Hacon in  
the Bay.

<sup>1</sup> Wrist.

!

<sup>2</sup> Gold.

Northmen, and dissuaded Eric much from taking to heart those burnings that had been in Vermland. But there were many other Swedish chiefs who egged the king on, that he should let some vengeance be taken for them. Lord Birgir, son of Magnus mind-skald, who had to wife Ingibjorg king Eric's sister; he was then the third greatest ruler in Sweden. That winter when king Hacon sat in Oslo came from the east out of Sweden Ivar Thorstein's son of Dale: he was sent by the Swede-king to ask what decision the king had come to to satisfy the Swedes for the strife he had made in Vermland. The king answers this, that he called it no wantonness that drove him to burn Vermland; and he said he would never have come across Eidwood on that errand if the Vermlanders had not sent a troop of vagabonds into Norway to rob and slay. The king said that for that many a good man and true had lost his life. "But," said king Hacon, "inasmuch as we both have a score to reckon against the other, so the only way I see out of it is, that we two princes should ourselves meet, and talk over our quarrel. Then it will either be that we shall come to terms, or there will be some other decision which God has provided; and I will go to this meeting east to the Land's end, where the realms meet, even though ye were willing that it should take place this very summer." Ivar fared back with this answer. And that answer came from the east in the spring that the Swedes were willing for this meeting.—When king Hacon sat in the Bay king Harold raised his wooing and begged for the lady Cecilia the king's daughter, whom lord Gregory had before to wife. The king took that well. And because that was so fated, then he (king Harold) betrothed to himself Cecilia the king's daughter, and it was meant that the bridal should be at Bergen that summer. In the spring king Hacon made ready for his voyage to Bergen;

A.D. 1248.  
Negotia-  
tions with  
Sweden  
as to the  
raids from  
and into  
Vermland.

King  
Harold of  
Man is  
betrothed  
to the lady  
Cecilia  
the king's  
daughter.

A.D. 1248. and when he came thither he stayed the summer over, and sent word to those men whom he wished to go with him as levies on an expedition. Then came from the west, over the sea, John Duncan's son and Dougal son of Rudri ask king Hacon to make them kings of the northern part of the Southern Isles. They were with the king that summer.

260. Fourteen nights before St. John's eve there were great tidings in Bergen. Then fire broke out just in the midst of the town in that court-yard which is called the Stream, in the night at the time when the bells were rung. But before the weather had been dry, and the fire spread fast. The king came up inside Peter's Church, and few men with him. But soon though came his bodyguard and the townsfolk, and they thought to stop the fire at first; but then it had spread so fast that they could get no hold on it. Then they went round to Mary's Church and meant to stop it there; but then the fire went so fast that Mary's Church began to burn and the steeples. Then the force of the fire was so great that it was tossed up into the castle, and it began to blaze. Then the king went thither, and many men with him. Then many men were burnt inside there before they could get out. But when the king came to the town there was a great blaze there; the folk were keeping it off out by Sandbridge. The king went thither, and fell there into great risks, as was always the case with him in time of trial, for the king went on boldly, and at the same time wisely to bring about what he wished. There barges and cutters were floating come from Gothland. The king went out in a boat to the barges, and got there great kettles. They were filled with sea-water, and so handed up on to the wharves; after that the sea-water was poured into the fire, and so it was quenched by God's mercy and the king's good luck. Then in Bergen a

John  
Duncan's  
son and  
Dougal  
son of  
Rudri ask  
king  
Hacon to  
make them  
kings of the  
northern  
part of the  
Southern  
Isles.

Great  
fire at  
Bergen,  
9th June,  
most  
of the  
town is  
burnt.



few days after was a wonderful event that a thunder- A.D. 1248,  
 storm came over with lightning, and fell into the June.  
 thatch of that loft inside which was squire Magnus A great  
 the son of king Hacon, and tore off the roof for thunder-  
 some fathoms. It was great mercy of God that the storm.  
 lightning did not pass on into the house; but it flew  
 out afterwards into the voe and struck a mast on a  
 ship which floated off the town, and dashed the  
 mast asunder into such small chips that they could  
 scarcely be seen anywhere. One bit of the mast did  
 hurt to a man who had got on board the ship from  
 the town to buy finery; but there was no harm  
 done to anyone else who was on board the ship.  
 The town was all burnt on the inner side of Sand-  
 bridge, and outside of it a few houses in by the  
 bight of the voe.

Some while after the burning of the town king King  
 Hacon gave a great feast in the king's house, and Harold is  
 gave away his daughter Cecilia to Harold the South- married  
 ern Isle king. And after that there came to king to the  
 Hacon those men whom he had summoned to him, lady  
 and who were to go with him to his meeting with Cecilia  
 the Swedes. Then the king set off on his journey, and sails  
 and had a great company and many ships. And for home  
 when he lay in Saltisle-sound then king Hacon gave in the  
 the title of king to John Duncan's son, and he fared autumn.  
 thence north back to Bergen, and it was meant that  
 he should fare west with king Harold, and Dougal  
 as well; but for all that they both stayed behind, and  
 king John sat in Bergen that winter, but Dougal went  
 east with the king, and was with him that winter.

261. Harold the Southern Isle king sailed in the The ship  
 autumn out from Bergen, and the lady Cecilia his is never  
 wife. They had one great ship, and on her were heard of,  
 many good men. They did not come to the Southern and they  
 Isles that autumn, and that ship was lost, and all are lost at  
 sea.

A.D. 1248, that were aboard her. And it is the belief of most Autumn. men that they were lost south of Shetland in Dyn-race<sup>1</sup>; because wreckage of the ship was thrown up on Shetland from the south. That was thought by men the greatest scathe. And it was the greatest harm and ill-luck to the South-islanders that they lost so suddenly such a prince, when his voyage to Norway had been so lucky, for the marriage which he had made, and for other honours.

King Ha- 262. King Hacon fared in the autumn east to the con fares in the Bay, as was said before. And when he got into the Bay a great force gathered to him, and most of them on horses. He lay a very long while in Dyngia, and awaited there archbishop Sigurd and those men who were looked for after him. King Hacon had then more than thirty ships, and most rather big, and much folk and rather picked men.

King Eric the Swede-king had drawn together a great host in Sweden, and fared in the summer east into Gothland. There was with him there earl Ulf and lord Birgir earl the king's father-in-law, and many other chiefs; and they had a great force, and most on horses. They came to Ljodhouse; and king Hacon had not then come thither. But because the Swedes had brought little food with them they could not wait for the Northmen, and rode back up into Sweden. It also happened that earl Ulf was somewhat sick; and that same autumn he died; and that was thought the greatest harm by the Swedes. And quickly after the death of the earl the king gave lord Birgir Magnus's son the title of earl, and then he became the greatest chief, and had all the ruling of the land with the king. And a little after the death of the earl those two, king Eric and earl Birgir, let take the life of lord Holmgeir, son

King Eric makes Birgir Magnus's son an earl and he has all the ruling of the land.

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<sup>1</sup> That is in Sumborough Roost.

of king Canute the long, the kinsman of earl A.D. 1248. Ulf and the other Folkungs. But then lord Philip <sup>Troubles</sup> went into outlawry out of Sweden, who had before <sup>in Sweden.</sup> been the greatest support of lord Holmgeir. He had to wife before Helena his mother's daughter of Peter Strangi's son. Philip was a daughter's son of earl Philip who fell at Akr by Oslo, and a near kinsman of Hacon king of Norway.

263. King Hacon came to the King's Crag in the autumn a little after the Swedes had gone away. <sup>King Hacon comes to the</sup> The king lay there a while, and settled those matters <sup>King's</sup> which were needful to him. But for that the meet- <sup>Crag and finds the</sup> ing between him and the Swede-king had not taken <sup>Swedes</sup> place, then he sent men up into Sweden, Einar butter- <sup>gone.</sup> back and provost Olaf, to find earl Birgir, to learn from <sup>He sends</sup> him what the Swede-king meant should be the out- <sup>messengers</sup> come of their quarrel with the Northmen. They had <sup>to earl</sup> also other errands to the earl which came out after- <sup>Birgir.</sup> wards, and must be spoken of here.

264. King Hacon fared north into the Bay to King Hacon comes to the Tunsberg, and gave men leave to go home. But the <sup>King's</sup> king gave it out that he would sit there in the Bay <sup>Crag and finds the</sup> that winter. Before this in the spring bishop Thorkell <sup>Swedes</sup> of Oslo had died. But in the autumn, while they were <sup>gone.</sup> in the Bay, king Hacon and the archbishop, Hacon <sup>He sends</sup> was consecrated bishop who was then schoolmaster. <sup>messengers</sup> Then also was consecrated Hervir bishop to the <sup>to earl</sup> Orkneys. After that the archbishop fared home north. <sup>Birgir.</sup> That summer he had let the foundations be laid for Christ Church, as far west as it now is. King Hacon sat that winter in the Bay, and this was the thirty- <sup>King Hacon spends that winter in the</sup> second winter of his reign. That winter came from <sup>Bay.</sup> the east Einar and Olaf; and said that the earl had taken well to them and their business, and said he would willingly be a friend of king Hacon. He gave that advice that they should meet the summer after in the Elf and bind their agreement with friendship <sup>Earl Birgir sends a friendly message to king Hacon.</sup>

A.D. 1248. and vows. Einar and his companion also bore that matter before the earl which seemed to men likeliest for peace, if ties were brought about between the princes, and the earl gave his daughter, whose name was Rikiza, to king Hacon the young. The earl took that well, and was afterwards more gentle in all matters than before; he said this might well be talked of when they met themselves.

King Harold and queen Cecilia lost at sea. These tidings were now heard for a certainty, of which some rumours had before gone about, that king Harold, son-in-law of king Hacon, and Cecilia his daughter had been lost in the autumn, as was said before. The king then bore it in mind that the Isles were left very much without a prince. He sent word north to Bergen that king John should fare west as soon as he could, and keep the realm in the Southern Isles until king Hacon sent more leaders thither. After that king John busked him from Norway, and fared west across the sea.

King Alexander of Scotland and king John of Man. 265. Alexander the Scot-king was very greedy for the realm in the Southern Isles, and was always sending men to chaffer for those lands in return for ready money. So he had done again that summer. But still he had another plan on his hands which was not kingly, that he drew together a host out of all Scotland, and set out on a voyage out to the Southern Isles, and meant to win the lands under him. He gave it out to his men that he did not mean to stay his course till he had planted his banner east of Thursa Skerries, and won under him all the realm of the king of Norway which he owned to the west of Solund sea. King Alexander sent word to king John that he wished to meet him. But that meeting did not come about till four earls of Scotland pledged him their faith that he should go in peace from that meeting, whether he and the king came to terms or not. But when the kings met, the Scot-king



begged that king John should give up Cairnborg into his power, and three other castles which he held of king Hacon, and that realm besides which king Hacon had allotted him. But the Scot-king said that he would grant him a far greater realm in Scotland, and along with it his support and friendship if king John would turn to him with full trustiness. All egged on king John to this, both his kinsmen and friends. But he behaved well and steadfastly in that he said that he would not break his oaths to king Hacon. On that king John fared away, and did not stop till he came north into Lewes.

A.D. 1248  
-49.

King John  
is faithful  
to king  
Hacon.

When king Alexander lay in Kerrera-sound he dreamt a dream. He thought three men came to him. One seemed to him to be dressed in royal robes. That man was very unfriendly, and ruddy of face and rather thick-set, and a man of middle height. The second seemed to him slim-built and young, of all men the fairest, and nobly dressed. The third was by far the tallest and the most unfriendly looking of men; he was very bald on the forehead. He threw words at the king, and asked if he meant to make war on the Southern Isles. Alexander thought he answered that of a surety he meant to lay the Isles under him. The dream-man bade him turn back; and said there were not two ways about it. The king tells his dream when he awoke, and most were eager that he should turn back. But he would not. And a little after king Alexander took a sickness and died. Then the Scots broke up the levy, and bore the body of the king up into Scotland. The South-islanders say that those men who appeared to the king in slumber were these: king Olaf the saint, king of Norway, and the saint earl Magnus of the Orkneys, and saint Columba. The Scots took for their king Alexander the son of Alexander; and he

King  
Alex-  
ander's  
dream.

Its inter-  
pretation.

A.D. 1249.

A.D. 1249. got to wife afterwards the daughter of king Henry of England and became after that a great prince.

King  
Hacon  
fares to  
the Elf to  
meet the  
Swedes.

266. King Hacon set out on his voyage in the spring out of Oslo east to meet the Swedes, according as it had been agreed. He had a great and picked force, and great pains was taken in fitting out the ships. King Hacon had Olafs-clinker. King Hacon the young had that ship which was called Dragon, and it was the fairest ship. They had many other big ships. King Hacon was slow in getting a fair wind. There was then with the king lord Philip son of Laurence, the king's kinsman; he was then an exile out of Sweden before king Eric and the earl. When the king passed out along the Elf he made them take great pains with the rowing on board his ships. Then all the crew were called into play, and the fleet passed on with all pomp. As Sturla says :

Sturla's  
verses on  
the fleet.

It was far-famed when Norway's keeper  
Crowned with conquest and good luck  
Fared to meet the Swedish host  
On Randvers snow-shoon<sup>1</sup> swift.  
All a-blaze were ocean's ripples  
Glittering golden round the fleet  
As the moon-rings<sup>2</sup> on the gunwhales  
One behind the other shone.  
And the lightning of the hawkfield<sup>3</sup>  
Beamed far off across the brine,  
When the glorious sun of heaven  
Paled her light 'gainst sun of sea.<sup>4</sup>

The king  
of Sweden  
and earl  
Birgir will  
not wait  
but ride off  
up the  
country.

When king Hacon came to the King's Crag he heard for a truth that Eric the Swede-king had come east, earl Birgir as well, and many other chiefs. But when they heard of the doings of the king of Norway, and it was said that he had a fleet of ships

<sup>1</sup> A periphrasis for "ships."

<sup>2</sup> A periphrasis for "shields."

<sup>3</sup> A periphrasis for "gold."

<sup>4</sup> A periphrasis for "gold."

and much people, then the Swedes would not wait; A.D. 1249. and the king rode off into Gothland; but the earl stayed behind a while in Ljodhouse. It was told king Hacon that were rather to be looked for that the earl had ridden away. When king Hacon lay in the River Matheus came to him who was afterwards on bad terms with earl Birgir. Matheus came before the king and hailed him; he told him the earl's greeting. After that it was asked where the earl was. He said that the earl had ridden up into Gothland. Afterwards he said to the king: "The earl thought that this should have been a peace meeting, and that you should have here spoken about your friendship and fellowship. But now when he heard that you had a great host, he could not know whether ye wished for peace." Lord Matheus did not push his speech further, and went away after that.

King Hacon sails with his fleet to Ljodhouse and frightens the Swedes. Lord Matheus brings a message and departs quickly.

267. After that the king calls to him his counsellors and seeks to know from them what was best to be done. It seemed to them wonderful that lord Mathew had gone away so suddenly. Gunnar the king's kinsman had then the stewardship of the Elf, and was a great friend of the earl. He backed this view that the earl would turn back at once if men were sent to ride after him. That plan was taken that Gunnar was sent to find the earl, and Thorlaug the bad. King Hacon told them that they were not to speak at greater length with the earl than lord Mathew had spoken to him. After that they set off, and found the earl in Gothland. The earl was rather stiff in his words, and found fault that the king had so great a force. Gunnar said that it was not faithlessness that led him to that, but rather that it was his wont to travel with big ships in good trim. Then Gunnar tried what kindness would do with the earl, and besought him to turn

King Hacon consults and sends Gunnar his kinsman after the earl to Gothland.

A.D. 1249. back to talk with the king. But the earl said that  
 Earl Birgir king Eric had ridden into East-Gothland, and that he  
 really king could not turn back. Gunnar said that the whole  
 in Sweden. rule of the land was there where the earl was, and  
 that he was both king and earl over the land. It  
 was with king Eric in this wise, that he was very  
 thick in his speech, and for that he was glad to let  
 others speak at Things and meetings. Earl Birgir  
 came to this decision, that king Hacon should wait  
 for him over the second Sunday—but that was on  
 Saturday—and that he should go up to Ljodhouse and  
 wait for him there. So these two, Gunnar and Thor-  
 laug the bad, go back to the king. Then king Hacon  
 had a talk with his men, and they took that counsel  
 to go to meet the earl. After that the king set out  
 on his way up to Ljodhouse with all the host. As  
 Sturla says :

King  
 Hacon  
 fares to  
 meet him  
 at Ljod-  
 house.

Sturla's  
 verses.

All the Elf-stream gleamed in glory  
 Glistening like gold to see ;  
 What time the monarch famed in story  
 Urged his fleet to Ljodhouse out.

The Goths  
 are sore  
 afraid.

The Goths thought it a sight very worth seeing  
 when they beheld so many big ships so well manned.  
 And they were very much afraid, if the chiefs did  
 not make friends, that the king would do some great  
 deeds of war in their land. As is sung :

The men of Gothland quaked for fear,  
 Their hearts within their bosoms shook,  
 Until the Swedish chief consented  
 In hour of dread to greet the king.

King  
 Hacon lies  
 off Ljod-  
 house.

268. King Hacon had run in at Thorskabank to  
 the west of the river, just over against Ljodhouse,  
 and there he waited till the earl came. But after  
 that men came between them, and then the wooing  
 of king Hacon the young was talked of, and many



other things belonging to their peace-making. After A.D. 1249. that they sent hostages the one to the other, and met themselves in such a wise that the earl crossed over the river to meet the king, and they spoke to one another; and all their speech went well between them. They spoke of this steadfastly that peace should stand between Norway and the realm of the Swedes; and the foes of neither should be fostered or cherished in the other's realm. And along with this king Hacon the young betrothed himself to the lady Rikiza the earl's daughter; and that match was to be carried out when they, the king and the earl, thought the right time was come. And after that they parted with the greatest love. The earl went up into Sweden, but king Hacon to the King's Crag; and in the autumn he went north to Tunsberg, and thence to Bergen, and there made ready for spending the winter. That autumn came from abroad from Iceland bishop Henry, and told those tidings that Thord kakali paid little heed to the king's business. The bishop set his face much against Thord's cause. The king received the bishop well. King Hacon had summoned Thord to him this summer. King Hacon sat that winter in Bergen, and this was the thirty-third winter of his reign.

King  
Hacon  
the young  
is be-  
trothed to  
earl  
Birgir's  
daughter.

269. In the spring after came men from the east A.D. 1250. from Sweden with those tidings that Eric the Swede-king was dead. Then there were great divisions among the folk as to the choice of a king. It was the counsel of most men that the son of earl Birgir was nearest to the kingdom, king Eric's sister's son, for his sister owned all the inheritance after him. Philip, son of king Canute the long, again was thought to be come to the title of king; for his father had been king together with king Eric Canute's son. Canute again, the son of Magnus brock, was thought to be born near to the kingdom; he was a daughter's

Death of  
Eric, king  
of Sweden.  
Claimants  
for the  
Swedish  
throne.

A.D. 1250. son of king Canute Eric's son, who was long king in the realm of the Swedes. But as soon as earl Birgir came into the field—for he had most share in ruling the land—then most men backed him, that his son had best right to the kingdom. After that Waldemar was chosen to be king, the son of earl Birgir. But that was not to the liking of those chiefs, who thought they had no less right to the realm.

Waldemar  
son of earl  
Birgir  
chosen  
king.

Tidings  
from Den-  
mark, Ice-  
land, and  
Sweden. 270. That summer great tidings happened in Denmark; then duke Abel seized with guile king Eric his brother, and let his life be taken on the eve of St. Lawrence's day. After that the duke let himself be chosen king over the Dane-realm, and became a mighty prince. King Hacon fared in the autumn north to Drontheim, and let them make ready to spend the winter there. That winter those came from abroad out of Iceland, bishop Sigurd and Thord kakali, and found the king in Drontheim.

Dissensions  
among the  
Icelanders.

There were then many men from Iceland there. Bishop Henry, and Gizur Thorvald's son, Thorgils scar, John Sturla's son, Finnbjorn Helgi's son, and Philip and Harold, the sons of Sæmund, and there was a great splitting into sides, for each wished to carry through his own business, so that he might get leave to sail out to Iceland. But bishop Henry backed that suit that Gizur should sail out; for he stood most against Thord, and said all the business that Thord had done in Iceland was worth nothing. The bishop said that Thord had put his own profit first in all things, and not the king's honour, and that was not believed at that time. That winter came from the east out of Sweden lord Canute, son of Magnus brock, the king's kinsman. He was in Drontheim that winter, and brought that before the king that earl Birgir would do him no honour, according as he thought he had a right.

King Hacon sat this winter in Drontheim, and made them lay in great stores against Yule, for he had a very great company of men. On the eighth day king Hacon wore his crown, and then had at his banquet all the best men that were in the town, archbishop Sigurd, and the suffragan bishops, and the canons of the see. There was earl Canute and lord Canute the king's kinsman, and all the best men of Drontheim law. This was the thirty-fourth winter of his reign. In the winter passed messengers between Abel the Dane-king and king Hacon. King Hacon sent south Bjarni Moses' son with letters; but Abel sent from the south other men in return with his letters. Then it was settled that the kings should meet at the border of the lands, and arrange these things for which king Hacon found fault with the Danes.

King Hacon in Drontheim in great state.

Abel king of Denmark.

271. This winter when king Hacon sat in Drontheim came from the east out of Russia the messengers of Alexander king of Novgorod; his name was Michael, and he was a knight, who was at their head. They made a stir about those things as to which the stewards of king Hacon north on the Marches and the Kirjalar from the east who paid tribute to king of Novgorod had had quarrels. For they often came to blows in strife with robberies and man-slayings. Then meetings were fixed, and counsel taken how that should be stopped. They had also this errand, to see the lady Christine, king Hacon's daughter; for the king of Novgorod had bidden them that they should try to find out from the king if he would wed the lady to the son of king Alexander. King Hacon took this counsel, that he sent men in the spring out of Drontheim and they fared east to Novgorod with the messengers of king Alexander; Vigleik the priest's son and Borgar were over this mission. They fared to Bergen and so by the east way. They came that summer to Novgorod.

Alexander king of Novgorod sends messengers to king Hacon. The Tatars invade Russia and stay the wooing of king Alexander's son for lady Christine.

King Hacon sends messengers to Novgorod.

A.D. 1250. And the king received them well, and then they made peace at once between their tributary lands, so that neither should raise strife against the other Kirjalar nor Finns, but that peace was not kept very long after. At that time there was great warfare in Novgorod; the Tatars were attacking the realm of the king of Novgorod. And for that sake there was no looking for the wooing which the king of Novgorod had made them ask for. And when they had done their errand they fared back from the east with worthy gifts, which the king of Novgorod sent to king Hacon. They came from the east in the winter and found king Hacon in the Bay.

A.D. 1251. 272. King Hacon fared in the spring out of Drontheim south to Bergen, and sat there that summer. There was a great company there then. Lord Canute son of Magnus brock went from the north with the king; but then there came from the east out of the Bay lord Philip (son of Laurence) and lord Philip son of king Canute the long. They begged the king that he would give them some support that they might get that realm to which they thought they were entitled. But the king would give them no support; for those were the terms between him and earl Birgir that neither should cherish the other's foes. After that the lords went away, and first south to Vendland, and thence they gathered together a force both of Vends and Germans; and thence they fared to Sweden, and raised strife against earl Birgir.

Many men from Iceland with the king. 273. That summer there were many men from Iceland with the king, as was written before; and there were many meetings held as to what settlement should be made as to the land. But that was the end of it that they, bishop Henry and Gizur, were sent out, and Thorgils scar, and to them those estates in Iceland were handed over to which the king had got a lawful title; after that they then were to manage the king's business with the

He appoints men to manage his estates in the island.



men of the land. The sons of Sæmund sailed out in A.D. 1251. another ship, and before they went they handed over formally that power to the king which they owned. Bishop Sigvard and Thord and John Sturla's son were then behind in Norway. That ship on which the sons of Sæmund were was lost, and four men were saved from her. But that ship on which the bishop and Gizur and Thorgils were was driven back to Norway in the autumn, and the ship was wrecked, but they were in Drontheim that winter.

King Hacon fared in the autumn east to the Bay, and meant to meet Abel the Dane-king, as messages had passed between them, for there had been much fitting backwards and forwards. It was spoken of that they should enter into family ties, the king of Norway and the Dane-king, in this wise, that lord Magnus should get the daughter of king Abel. King Hacon fared all the way east to the Elf in the autumn, but could hear nothing there of king Abel. Then king Hacon sailed all the way east to Mostrar sound, and lay there awhile; and there came to him many barks, both Wendland-farers and other chapmen. Then king Hacon became aware that king Abel did not mean to keep tryst with him. Then king Hacon turned back to his kingdom, and in the autumn fared in to Oslo, and made ready to spend the winter there.

274. That autumn there was great strife in Sweden between earl Birgir and those lords, as was before said. Then either side had a great host and marched against the other. But when that time had come which they had settled between them, king Hacon and earl Birgir, that the young king should hold his bridal with the lady Rikiza—but for that the earl had great strife in Sweden, he thought he could not come to that bridal meeting, as had been agreed. The earl took that counsel that he sent his daughter from the east with an honourable company. There

King  
Hacon  
fares east  
to the Bay  
to Abel  
the Dane-  
king, but  
he does  
not keep  
tryst.

Great  
strife in  
Sweden.  
Earl Bir-  
gir cannot  
come to  
the wed-  
ding, but  
sends his  
daughter  
lady Ri-  
kiza with  
an honour-  
able com-  
pany.

A.D. 1251. were with her two bishops, one Laurence bishop of Skara, and Magnus bishop of the realm of Sweden; lord Carl son of earl Ulf, and many other noble lords and chiefs of the realm of Sweden. This bridal train was the fairest for the sake of fee and fellowship. That folk found king Hacon in Oslo; and he welcomed them with the greatest love for the sake of his nobleness and the pains that had been taken in the matter. As Sturla says:

Sturla's  
verses.

From the east the lord of Gothland  
Sent his daughter decked with gold,  
Pride of men, with every honour  
As a bride meet for his son.

Then O mighty gold bestower  
Thou didst greet the bridal train  
From Sweden with the highest favour,  
All folk praise thy peaceful reign.

The bridal  
is held at  
Oslo.  
Meantime  
earl Birgir  
conquers  
and be-  
heads his  
rivals.

Now they set about making a great feast in Oslo, and the bridal of the young king and the lady Rikiza was held. At this feast there were both many folk and good folk. But when the feast was over the Swedes fared home, and the king (Hacon) sent them away with worthy gifts. They went on their way, and found earl Birgir. But while they were in Norway great tidings had happened in Sweden. Then they had met at Hervadsbridge earl Birgir and the lords of whom we spoke before, the two Philips and Canute Magnus' son; and they all fell into earl Birgir's power. But the earl let them all be beheaded; and many other men with them, and most of them Germans, but to most of the Swedish men he gave peace. And after that the strife in Sweden ceased. But as to these deeds very different stories went about as to the earl. It mattered much whether friends or foes told them.

Then  
there was  
peace in  
Sweden.

275. So it is now to be said, as before was told, that between king Hacon and the emperor Frederick

there was the greatest good fellowship. Men passed often between them with noble presents. But then there had for some time been strife between the Northmen and the men of Lübeck, for those robberies which were spoken of before, and which had befallen the Northmen in that warfare which was between the Danes and the men of Lübeck. King Hacon had written to the emperor that the Northmen had no peace to sail to Lübeck. But the emperor had power over the town. But that summer when king Eric was betrayed in Denmark came letters from abroad from the emperor, which bore witness that he had sent his letters to Lübeck with that purport that the Northmen should have there the best peace. It also stood in the letters of the emperor that he would make the honour of king Hacon greater than that of other kings in the Northern lands; and he would give up the town of Lübeck into his power, so that he might be over it freely, both as lord and prince; and said he would put his letters and seal to it, if king Hacon would let them be sought. But when king Hacon saw these tidings and letters, he sent messengers both to the emperor and the men of Lübeck, in acknowledgment of this offer, and to make peace with the men of Lübeck. Bjarni Moses' son fared thither. But to the emperor were sent Sira Askatin and Amundi son of Harold stake-foal. Then they fared in the autumn out of Bergen, about the turn of the winter nights, south to Denmark. They came about the thirteenth day of Yule to Venice. And there they heard these tidings, that the emperor had died before Yule out in Apulia. Then they turned back and meant to go into Swabia to find Konrad the son of the emperor Frederick. And on that journey they were taken and shut up, and in that prison they were till lord Konrad heard of it, and he sent men to set them free. After that they fared to find Konrad, and he

A.D. 1251.

The emperor Frederick helps king Hacon in his quarrel with the Lubeckers.

Death of the emperor Frederick. Konrad emperor, but not so friendly.

A.D. 1251. made them welcome. But they did not get that end of their errand which they would have got if the emperor had lived. And it is the saying of men that the emperor Frederick has been one of the noblest of the emperors of Rome in this latter age. He was emperor nineteen winters and twenty. But after him the emperorship was dropped, so that no one has been emperor since, until this book was compiled, when Magnus had been two winters king in Norway, after king Hacon fared west across the sea. After that Sira Askatin and his companions fared north into Norway and found king Hacon in Bergen about St. John's tide; and told him these tidings which they had, and the king thought it the greatest scathe in the emperor's death. Bjarni Moses' son came back, and had according to the king's counsel made peace with the men of Lübeck, so that each might sail to the other in peace. The men of Lübeck were afterwards great friends of king Hacon.

Date of  
Hacon's  
Saga,  
1265.

The king  
makes  
friends  
with the  
Lubeckers.

King  
Hacon  
keeps Yule  
at Oslo.

Death of  
archbishop  
Sigurd.

King Hacon sat that winter in Oslo, after the bridal of king Hacon the young. In that same year had died, earlier in the spring, bishop Paul of Hammar. King Hacon kept Yule in Oslo that winter, and this was the thirty-fifth winter of his reign. In the spring, in the Fast, there were great tidings in Drontheim; then archbishop Sigurd died on the second of the Nones of March; but in his stead was chosen Sira Sörli, who before was canon in Hammar. He fared that summer out of the land to seek Pope Innocent, and got consecration from him. Archbishop Sörli consecrated two bishops at the pope's court, one bishop Peter in Hammar, but the other bishop Richard in the Southern Isles.

King  
Hacon and  
earl Birgir  
meet at  
the Elf,  
and they

In the spring, in the Fast, king Hacon set out on his way from Oslo, and fared east to the Elf, and met there earl Birgir; and they talked together of many things. Then king Hacon brought before the



earl what faithlessness king Abel had shewn him A.D. 1252.  
 when he had broken his tryst with him. The earl agree to  
 said that the Danes had done the Swedes the greatest invade  
 harm in robberies and manslayings; and most of all Denmark  
 that the Danes had harboured those lords and sent the spring  
 them up into Sweden. But for that each of them after and  
 thought they had many scores to reckon with the meet in  
 Danes; then they took that counsel that after the Sound.  
 twelve months they should put out a host from each  
 realm; king Hacon was to have a fleet of ships from  
 Norway, but the earl should have five thousand men  
 from Sweden, and they should meet the spring after  
 on the Elf, and then fare south into the realm of  
 the Danes. King Hacon was to sail with his ships  
 into the Sound; but earl Birgir should ride south  
 across Halland and Scania, and make such warfare  
 there as he chose; and both meet afterwards at the  
 Sound, and then take that counsel which seemed most  
 likely to prosper, if the Danes would not offer  
 honourable terms on their part.

After this plan king Hacon fared north into Nor- King  
 way to Tunsberg, but earl Birgir up into Sweden. Hacon  
 King Hacon fared in the summer to Bergen, and sat spends the  
 there. That summer they fared out to Iceland, summer at  
 bishop Henry and Gizur, Thorgils and Finnbjorn; Bergen.  
 and they took possession of those estates in Iceland  
 which king Hacon had made over to them. But for  
 all that great strife soon sprang up in Iceland be-  
 tween Gizur and those others whom Thord had put  
 in into the estates. They had not been long too in Bishop  
 Iceland, bishop Henry and Gizur, ere the bishop Henry and  
 thought that he was not performing what he had Gizur  
 promised to the king. Then it so came about suddenly fare out to  
 that the bishop turned his friendship to those men Iceland,  
 who were the greatest enemies of Gizur. The bishop and quar-  
 spoke so that there was no man more perfect than rel over  
 Gizur in breaking all those things which were an the man-  
agement of  
the king's  
estates.

A.D. 1252 honour to the king, and which he had promised. They did not hit it off together either, Gizur and Thorgils; for Thorgils thought he had little will to keep that faith to which the king had bound him. That summer, when Gizur and the others fared to Iceland, king Hacon gave Thord a stewardship north in Gaulardale, and he fared thither. Thord kakali sent to Iceland Kolbein green, his kinsman, but he was thought to be no great setter at one of men when he came to Iceland.

That summer king Abel is slain in a skirmish with the Frisians and Christopher succeeds him.

277. That summer of which we are now speaking, king Abel made war on the Frisians, and wished to lay stricter dues on them than had been before. The Frisians made somewhat of a gathering, but they let the woods keep them. And when king Abel sought for them he was smitten with an arrow and got his death of it. After his death the Danes chose for their king Christopher, brother of king Eric and king Abel. Then he took under him all the Dane-realm.

A.D. 1253. King Hacon let them make ready to spend the winter in Bergen. This was the thirty-sixth winter of his reign. And when it began to be spring he sent a letter of summons through all the land, and called out a great force with supplies and fitting out of ships and arms. He gave it out that he meant to hold on with this host to Denmark. That summer there was gathered together in Norway a great host. Then the king held on as soon as he was "boun" east to the Bay: and at first the host did not sail in very close company, for they sailed pretty much each as they were boun. King Hacon ran in to Tunsberg, and left behind there the lady Margaret and Rikiza, but he sailed east across the Firth. Then a great force flocked to him round the Bay and from the north of the land. King Hacon had then Olaf's Clinker; but the young king the Dragon; earl

King Hacon calls out his levies all over the land and sails for the Bay, and gathers a great force in ships and men.

Canute Drawmark ; lord Sigurd the king's son Rygia- A.D. 1253.  
 brand ; Peter of Gizki Borgunds-boat ; Ögmund crow-  
 dance Gunnar's-boat, bard of Hestby had besides a  
 big ship, and many others too had large ships. King  
 Hacon ran in to the land in Hermdar-sound ; and most  
 part of the host came to him there. Thence the king  
 fared in to Hramns-holt ; there stood that great ship  
 which Gunnar the king's kinsman had made after  
 the king's directions, which has been the biggest of  
 any made in Norway. King Hacon made them  
 launch the ship from the stocks, and that went off  
 most luckily. And before the ship was launched the  
 king made a clever speech, and gave the ship a  
 name, and called it Cross-clinker. But when the  
 ship was launched, the king left men behind to fit  
 out the ship. But he fared to meet the host, and  
 sailed south to Ekrisles, and let most of the fleet lie  
 there. But the kings went then on board a light  
 ship, and most of the liegemen with them, and ran  
 into the river, and lay at a place called Lindisholm.  
 Then king Hacon heard that earl Birgir has come  
 with the Swedish host, according as they had before  
 planned.

Cross-  
clinker is  
launched.

The fleet  
collects at  
Ekrisles.

Earl Bir-  
gir keeps  
tryst.

278. King Hacon sent north to fetch Cross-clinker, Cross-  
 his son squire Magnus, and Gauti of Mel. They were to  
 sail her to Ekrisles to the other ships. And when  
 they came north they fitted out the ship so far as  
 she was not yet fitted. But before they fared from  
 Hramnsholt lord Magnus made his first speech, and  
 men were much astonished how clever the speech was,  
 and not uttered in a childish way. And after that  
 they held on in this ship to Ekrisles. And when they  
 came into the haven, and cast anchor, then there was  
 such way on the ship that fire caught the windlass  
 with which they turned round the cable. Then men  
 thought that the cable would burn, and took an awning  
 and wetted it ; and meant to quench the fire. But

Cross-  
clinker  
joins the  
fleet,  
brought  
by squire  
Magnus.

A.D. 1253. squire Magnus was by far so much quicker and better in resources that he took a bucket full of drink, and poured it over the windlass block and so quenched the fire. When Cross-clinker got into her berth by the other ships, her bulwarks were as high as the awning poles on those ships and Olaf's clinker. The gunwhale was nine ells above the sea on Cross-clinker. That ship was by far the greatest of all those that were there; and yet it was the talk of those men who were old, that they had not seen so many big ships at once in one levy. From this levy and fleet arose a great message of fear south over Halland and the Dane-realm, and men thought no shield would be raised against that host. As Sturla sung:

The men  
of Halland  
and Den-  
mark are  
in great  
fear.

I tell the folk how thou didst punish,  
Thou that mannest steed of wave,  
Southern Danes for breach of peace;  
Far and wide from off the rollers  
Thy people launched the lively ships,  
Thy thanes oft had irksome levies,  
Along the coast to punish raids.

Ready rushed to every rowlock  
Crews of king so far renowned,  
Then O lord of squandered treasure  
South along thy fleet held on.  
Ring scatterer, all the men of Halland  
Quaked for dread before thy power;  
Not a man of Jutland's ruler  
Was free from fear of Norway's king.

The men  
of mark  
who served  
on this  
levy.

279. King Hacon had on this levy many noble men with him. There were three other kings besides king Hacon; the young king his son, John king of the Southern Isles, and king Dougal, earl Canute, squire Magnus, and lord Sigurd. These were the noblest of the liegemen: Peter of Giski, Nicholas his son, Gaut of Mel, and Brynjolf John's son. When king Hacon lay at Ekrisles, archbishop Sörli came there from abroad from the Pope, and he had first



come to Tunsberg, and the queen got him a light A.D. 1253, ship to go south after the king. With him was bishop Peter; but before with the king was Arni bishop of Bergen, Askell bishop of Stavanger, Hacon bishop of Oslo, and many other priests both with the kings and the bishops.

280. When king Hacon lay off Lindesholm, earl <sup>Earl</sup> Birgir was to <sup>Birgir</sup> the east of the Elf with his host at <sup>marches to</sup> Gulbergs-neck. The earl had five thousand men. <sup>the east of</sup> There were many noble men with him, lord Carl <sup>the Elf</sup> and sends brother of Ulf, and lord Carl son of earl Ulf; lord <sup>word to</sup> Holmgeir son of earl Folki, and Carl Kveis son of <sup>king</sup> John Angel, and many other noble chiefs out of <sup>Hacon</sup> Sweden. There too was with the earl king Andrew <sup>that the</sup> of Sursdales, brother of king Alexander of Novgorod; <sup>Danes wish</sup> he had fled from the east before the Tatars. King <sup>to treat for</sup> Hacon the young fared out of Lindesholm, and Peter of Giski and other noble men besides, and were the earl's guests. But Sunday before St. John's day the earl fared with king Hacon the young to see king Hacon, and they talked of many things by themselves. Earl Birgir told the king that the messengers of the Dane-king were come from the south, and lay up in the river by Gullbergs neck, two bishops of Denmark and fifteen knights and many other men. They are sent for this, to make peace as to those things which the Northmen reckon up against the Danes. There they talked of many things. On St. John's day they both met in conference. Men thought that earl <sup>The earl</sup> Birgir backed the suit of the Danes more than they <sup>rather</sup> expected. But the Danes accepted those terms which <sup>sides with</sup> king Hacon laid down that they should stand with <sup>the Danes,</sup> the counsel of the wisest men. But that was the <sup>but king</sup> agreement that the Danes should give king Hacon <sup>Hacon is</sup> so much goods as would prove that the Northmen were <sup>willing</sup> in no wise scathed by the strife which they had <sup>to make</sup> suffered from the Danes. Some money was also <sup>peace and</sup> written <sup>letters</sup> accord- <sup>were</sup> ingly. <sup>written</sup>

A.D. 1253. adjudged to be paid by king Hacon for that which the Danes claimed against the Northmen; and that money was to be forthcoming in the autumn, and so too some part of what the Danes were to pay. But for that which was outstanding Halland was to lie as a pledge. But if king Christopher would not have that, then some of the knights were to go with king Hacon and some with earl Birgir into the Swede-realm, and stay there till they were ransomed out. And when these terms were settled, letters were written accordingly, and seals set to them of the bishops and other men out of each realm. As Sturla said:—

Sturla's  
verses.

He that dyed the shield in battle  
Their robbery to the Danes repaid;  
First of all the red-gold crusher  
Came off Ekrisles ashore.  
Fines enough the people promised  
There and then unto the king;  
Drontheimers took land for money  
In pledge until the debt was paid.

The king  
dismisses  
his levies  
and returns  
to Tuns-  
berg.

But when that was settled and fixed, they laid their plans, king Hacon and earl Birgir. After that the levy broke up. King Hacon turned north and came to Tunsberg, near St. Peter's day. Then the king gave all men leave to go home.

The king  
goes to  
Bergen  
and sends  
Aslak to  
the Lands-  
end to pay  
the Danes  
and to  
receive  
what was  
due from  
them.

Earl Bir-  
gir pro-  
poses that  
they  
should put

281. King Hacon fared out of Tunsberg as soon as he was boun to Bergen, and sat there the summer over. And when it wore on, the king sent Aslak gush east to the landsend with the sum which he was to pay the Danes. And when Aslak came to the river then no men came from Denmark, and none to pay up that money which was settled. Aslak saw earl Birgir, and the earl told him this, that the Dane-king was not willing that any payments should be made that autumn; but he wished that the kings should meet themselves the next summer, and make up all matters which might come between them. The

earl was very eager that this should be done. And A.D. 1255.  
 after this Aslak fared home. King Hacon busked off the  
 him to go north up the country, and sat in Drontheim settlement  
 that winter. This was the thirty-seventh winter of till the  
 his reign. In the spring in the Fast Peter of Gizki next  
 died there in Drontheim. King Hacon busked him summer.  
 from the north in the Fast and south to Bergen, and The king  
 stayed there some while in the spring. That same keeps Yule  
 spring died archbishop Sörli in Drontheim, on the at Nidaros.  
 feast of the two Apostles Philip and James.

After the death of the archbishop the canons had In the  
 a talk; and they agreed to choose as archbishop summer  
 Einar butterback, son of Gunnar grit-back; but he king  
 was abroad in Paris. Then they went abroad, master Hacon,  
 Hacon and master Ottar, with letters to tell of this earl Birgir,  
 choosing. But they took no counsel with king Hacon and king  
 as to that. King Hacon fared in the summer east Christopher meet  
 to the Bay, and as far as the Elf to meet the at Lindes-  
 Dane-king according as earl Birgir had begged. holm, but  
 Then the king rowed east to Lindesholm; but earl no settle-  
 Birgir was at Gullbergs-neck. There too came ment is  
 Christopher the Dane-king, and his trust was very made.  
 much where the earl was. But when they talked of  
 terms, then it was seen that the Dane-king thought  
 the bishops had been much more eager in taking  
 them than he had been in offering them; and the  
 kings could not come to terms. But earl Birgir set  
 himself always to that that they should make matters  
 up; and it seemed to the Northmen that he leant  
 very much towards the Danes. But the meeting  
 ended in this, that the Dane-king rode away with  
 no terms of peace settled. He rode south through  
 Halland, and let all the bridges over every river that  
 he crossed be broken down. King Hacon fared north  
 back to the Bay, and was there that summer.

282. That spring of which we are now speaking, King  
 lord Sigurd the king's son died, and Askel bishop Hacon in  
 the Bay

A.D. 1255. of Stavanger. That summer king Hacon sent to the rest of the summer. Iceland bishop Sigvard, to forward the king's business at the Thing in Iceland. Sigurd silk-eye also fared out to behold how steadfastly the bishop behaved in the king's business. They had many letters to Iceland. There were in them a summons to go abroad against Gizur Thorvald's son and others more besides. But when they came to Iceland they heard that there had been great tidings in the autumn before, and that those three, Eyjolf Thorstein's son, and Hrani Kodran's son, and Kolbein green, had burnt indoors three sons of Gizur and many other men at Flugamoor. But in the spring Odd Thorarin's son slew Hrani and four more in Grimsey; but Gizur had slain in the winter Kolbein green and seven more. Then there was great strife in Iceland. Bishop Sigvard found Gizur in the south of the land, and he was under the ban of bishop Henry. And when bishop Henry heard of the arrival of the ship, he rode south across the heath; and then both the bishops pressed Gizur hard so that he got ready to go abroad at once, but he set Odd Thorarin's son over Skagafirth, and handed over to him all his quarrel with the burners. But to Thorir tott he handed over his inheritance, and he was to stand by Odd against Eyjolf and Hrafn. Gizur came to Bergen, and there Thord kakali met him; and there was no friendly meeting between them. Gizur went at once to the Bay, and found king Hacon there.

More troubles in Iceland, and murders on all sides.

Gizur leaves the island.

King Hacon spends the winter at Tunsberg.

283. That same autumn king Hacon made them make ready for spending the winter at the Berg; this was the thirty-eighth winter of his reign. Then they were both there, Thord and Gizur. Thord was at the Berg, but Gizur in the town. In the spring king Hacon fared to Bergen, and had Cross-clinker with him. That summer Einar the archbishop came into the land from sea abroad at Allda, and turned



at once north along the coast to Drontheim. The king thought it strange that he would not come to see him. In the spring, while king Hacon sat in Bergen, he sent to Iceland Ivar Engel's son to forward his business in Iceland with the support of the bishops; for the king trusted them both well. But the king gave stewardships both to Thord and Gizur; Gizur had a stewardship north in Drontheim, but Thord one east in Skidi. When Ivar came to Iceland he heard those tidings that those two, Hrafn and Eyjolf, had slain Odd Thorarin's son the winter before at Gelding-holt. But that summer when Ivar came out about the autumn, they had fought at Crosswater-eres, Thorvard Thorarin's son; and besides Thorgils Bodvar's son and Sturla Thord's son had stood by him; but against him were these two, Eyjolf and Hrafn. In that battle Eyjolf fell, but Hrafn fled. Ivar spent the winter in Skalholt, and it seemed to him that bishop Sigurd laid less care on the king's business than he had promised. In the spring Ivar fared north to Skagafirth, and found there bishop Henry and Thorgils scar, who was then the first man in Skagafirth, and pleaded the king's business before them. They both set their backs to the cause, and called together all the freemen in Skagafirth, and backed the king's business with Ivar. Then it so came about that all the Skagafirthers and Eyjafirthers, and most part of the freemen in the north quarter, agreed to pay the king a tax such as they settled to pay with Ivar. Ivar fared out of the country in the summer, and he thought his errand had been less than he meant, and he laid that most at the door of Gizur's friends and foster-brothers, and besides at the door of some of Thord's kinsmen and friends.

A.D. 1255.

He gives stewardships in the Bay to Gizur and Thord, and sends Ivar Engel's son to manage his affairs in Iceland with the bishops.

The Icelanders agree in the north quarter and in Skagafirth to pay the king a tax. Ivar leaves the land.

284. Archbishop Einar came north to Nidaros to his see. But as soon as ships came from the south

Archbishop Einar comes to

A.D. 1255. then the archbishop became aware that king Hacon Nidaros, and tries to persuade the king to share the land with his sons. The king leaves it in God's hands.

had been very displeased, that he had not fared to see him as soon as ever he came into the land, especially when there was such a little distance between them. Now the archbishop set out on his voyage south to Bergen, and came into the king's presence. He received him well when they met; and spoke together of many things. All their speeches passed off well. Archbishop Einar was the greatest friend of the young king, for he had given him the title of king, and showed him afterwards the greatest tokens of love. The archbishop brought it before the king, that he should make some sharing of the land between his sons in his lifetime which would be grateful to the folk, and which they would both agree to hold. King Hacon had talk about that with his friends and councillors. Men uttered various opinions as to that. Some said that Magnus should have a third of the land and the title of duke. Some said that the land should be halved, though king Hacon (the young) should alone bear the title of king after his father. There were some who said they had no mind to take part in these meetings if there was a difference made in anything between those brothers. They said things would go best if everything were halved between them. Archbishop Einar and the friends of the young king begged the king to settle this matter by some arrangement, and set to it his letters and seal, and along with them those of other chiefs. The king took that kindly, but spoke thus, that things would turn out best if God settled them. And so the matter was marred by no settlement being come to. The archbishop fared north to his see, and he and the king parted with kindness and much friendship.

King  
Hacon the  
young

King Hacon the young had this summer sent messengers out to Spain to the king of Castile. Elis the

priest was at the head of those messengers. They had some hawks to carry with them, and other things beside which were not easy to get there. And when they came out into Spain the king made them welcome and took those presents kindly which had been sent him from Norway. And the messengers stayed there a while in good cheer.

A.D. 1255.  
sends  
messengers  
to Spain to  
the king  
of Castile.

285. The next winter to this king Hacon sat in Bergen, and this was the thirty-ninth winter of his reign. In the spring, near Easter, king Hacon sent Thorlaug the bad and some men with him south to Denmark; they were to fare to see archbishop Jacob in Lund. The king sent letters to the archbishop, that he should send men and letters to king Christopher to find out whether he would keep any of those terms which were made between the Danes and Northmen that summer when the king lay in Ekrisles. The king begged to have a true answer to that. But when Thorlaug came south to Lund, the archbishop made him welcome, and let him stay with him. But he sent men into Zealand to Roeskilde to find the Dane-king. But when he (the king) knew their errand, he kept them by him but sent men up into Scania to seize the king of Norway's messengers, and bring them to him. But the archbishop got wind of that, and made Thorlang ware of it, and got him horses, and he rode up into Sweden, but some of his companions stayed behind with the archbishop by stealth. They fared by the east way into the Bay, and so north to the king, and came at Whitsuntide to Bergen and told the king how they had sped, and the archbishop's message that king Hacon might spare himself the pains of thinking that even one instalment would be paid of those damages which the Northmen had settled with the Danes, or of any of those agreements which had been made between them. The king was not at all pleased at that. But quicker than was looked for he let his

A.D. 1256.  
The king  
sends mes-  
sengers to  
Denmark  
to arch-  
bishop  
Jacob of  
Lund, and  
he sent  
back word  
that the  
Danes  
would pay  
him no  
money.

A.D. 1256. ship Olafs-clinker be launched ; and gave it out that he meant to go north to Drontheim. But when the ship was run out under Fenring, he said they should sail east to the Bay. He sent men east before him with letters to the stewards in the Bay and those chapmen who were wont to sail to Denmark, and laid a heavy fine on any vessel bound for the Sound that should sail further along the coast than Ekrisles, and there they were to wait till the king had made up his mind whether it was his will that they should set out. King Hacon sailed east along the coast ; and when he came to the Bay he held on first for Tunsberg. And when he came there, he sent out letters of levy round all the Bay, and called to him all the liegemen and stewards who were in the Bay ; and there gathered together a great host and a fleet of ships. King Hacon held on with all that host south along the coast to Ekrisles. There came together a very great force. It was the reckoning of men that there wanted little of three hundred ships. As Sturla sung :

Sturla's  
verses.

You did not sit, O monarch-crusher,  
Proud of birth, when truce was broken,  
In quiet long ; thy henchmen hardy  
Reeved quick the tackling of thy ships.  
In pride from out the Elf of Gothland  
Norway's king his ships urged on ;  
New-seamed planks were tried at sea,  
Hosts of death-doomed folk were slain.

King Ha-  
con sends  
a force to  
harry Hal-  
land.

When king Hacon lay in Eikund-sound he sent a great part of his host south off Halland ; he bade them harry the land there, and waste it both with fire and sword. He sent near two parts of his force south as far as Glaumstein, and the leaders were Ogmund crowdance, and Arnbjorn bag, Bard of Hestby, Aslak gush, Paul goose, and Amundi Harold's son. But a third of the force were to land in Geit-car. At their head were John queen and John Lodin's son, and



Thord kakali, and still more stewards from the Bay. A.D. 1256. They all sailed together to Mostrar-sound. As Sturla says :

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| Thy sailors sped the light-built cutters             | Sturla's |
| With tackling taut to Mostrar-sound                  | verses.  |
| The puffin-field <sup>1</sup> in furrows ploughing ; |          |
| War-rumours reached the ears of Goths.               |          |
| Sturdy king, there then were many                    |          |
| Frightened folk on Danish land ;                     |          |
| What time your seamen trimmed their sails ;          |          |
| The beaks of ships shone bright with gold.           |          |

When the king came to Mostrar-sound some Dansk men met them, and the most of them were slain.

286. Bartholomew's day was on a Thursday. Then the Northmen were set to land in Halland according as king Hacon had laid his plans before. They landed also at Glaumstein, but the two Johns fared first into Bardfirth and burned one parish there. After that they held on south to Geit-car and landed there. There they met a small gathering of the landfolk, but they only held out a little while against them ; and there many of the Danes fell. After that the Northmen began to harry the land. As Sturla sung :

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| O prince, ye ruled your sailors ready     | Sturla's |
| Should set their course for Danish land,  | verses.  |
| Land of that king so fierce of mood :     |          |
| Thy warriors proud eftsoons then landing, |          |
| Harried the shore of Halland grimly       |          |
| Along the coast from Goats-car east       |          |
| Freemen's children far and wide           |          |
| Lost their liberty that day.              |          |

The Northmen passed over the land, and slew men and burned the farms which came in their way, and as is sung,—

Brisk lads let ogresses of war  
Sing in the drift of darts that day,  
Sword in hand drew blood enough  
Out of the wounds of Danish folk

---

<sup>1</sup> The sea.

A.D. 1256.      The pine trees tall <sup>1</sup> of famous stock  
 Fell far and near in broken flight  
 There the host marched on to battle  
 Under the helm of terror hid.

And again he sung :

Sturla's      Beneath their banners brave men marched  
 verses.      Across the plains so wide to strife  
                 At that parliament of weapons  
                 Corse-corbies tore their prey still warm ;  
                 Eagles then with grey wolves sharing  
                 The wave so full from scull-wounds streaming ;  
                 The grim wolf prowled through seas of blood  
                 Poured from the veins of fighting men.

Many      Ogmund crowdance and his men also landed on  
 Danish      Bartholomew's day at Glaumstein, and found there no  
 farms are      resistance, but slew many men of the Danes. They  
 burnt.      burned the farms in the evening and on Friday ;  
                 and went as far south as the river which is called  
                 Edre and there burned down a trading-thorp. On  
                 Saturday they turned back, and then burned all the  
                 farms which were in their way. As Sturla sung :

Sturla's      The trusty henchman kindled high,  
 verses.      Hot fire in the Danish realm  
                 Of the hall the wolf<sup>2</sup> so greedy  
                 Stalked high above the scorched land.  
                 Far above the farmers roof-tree  
                 Blazed the birch-pest,<sup>3</sup> owners frightened  
                 By bale-fire smitten fled to wood.

A great      On the night before Sunday the Northmen lay on  
 storm      board their ships. Then a great storm came on, and  
 comes on.      drove some ships away from them from their moorings ;  
                 but men bore the goods before that out of them, and  
                 went themselves on board these ships whose moorings  
                 held fast.

The Danes      On Sunday the Danes came down with a great  
 come down      gathering. They slew some lads of the Northmen  
 and try to

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<sup>1</sup> Proper men.

|      <sup>2</sup> Fire.

|      <sup>3</sup> Fire.

whom they found on land, and some of those men A.D. 1256.  
 who had stolen off into the country to plunder. After <sup>burn the</sup>  
 that they took the ships which had been driven on <sup>ships.</sup>  
 shore, and made on them a great bale-fire, and meant  
 that it should drive out to the ships of the North-  
 men, for the wind had chopped round off the land.  
 The Northmen rowed to meet them towards the land  
 when they saw these tidings, and caught hold of some of  
 the ships with boat-hooks and dragged them to them,  
 and they took no harm from those attempts. After  
 that the Northmen sailed away from Glaumstein, and <sup>The North-</sup>  
 a little after burnt the town at Araness. <sup>men burn</sup>  
 So said <sup>Araness.</sup>  
 Sturla :

Elder-wolf cast out his sparks  
 High o'er houses east of Elf ;  
 Roofs waxed hot, proud halls fell down,  
 Hour of dread in Danish land ;  
 Lodgings all began to burn,  
 On Halland's shore the young wood-wolf <sup>1</sup>  
 Leapt o'er the high-road east of Glumstone.

Sturla's  
 verses.

King Hacon lay at Ekrisles till the host came back  
 from the south to meet him. Then the king heard  
 clearly all these tidings that had happened. Then  
 they took the war spoil and shared it by the king's  
 advice. King Hacon then bethought him that the  
 Northmen had raised great strife in the Dane-king's  
 realm. Then he held a talk with his men how he  
 should guard his realm till he heard what the  
 Dane-king took in hand. Then that counsel was  
 taken to send men to see king Christopher, and find  
 out what course he would take now that matters  
 had gone so far ; whether he would turn him to  
 peace, or would keep up strife with the Northmen. On  
 this errand they, Simon the preacher and brother Sigurd  
 set off. They came into the Dane-king's presence, and

They di-  
 vide the  
 spoil, and  
 king Ha-  
 con tries  
 in vain  
 to come to  
 terms with  
 king Chris-  
 topher.

<sup>1</sup> Fire.

A.D. 1256. he took to their business rather slowly; he thought it a great outrage that the Norway-king had harried his realm. But they got no answer from the Dane-king which they thought likely to turn out well. With that they went back to seek king Hacon and told him all the speeches of the Dane-king; and said they thought him not likely to come to any terms.

King Hacon fares to Tunsberg, leaving his son Hacon at the Elf.

287. King Hacon fared away from Ekrisles. He set behind him his son Hacon at the Elf, and he lay in Stream-sound with ten big ships. These were the ship-captains with the king: Ogmund crowdance Veseti of Hellu, Simon short, Lodin stake, and Helgi the red priest. The guests had two big ships. King Hacon ailed to the Bay, and held on first for Tunsberg, and stayed there a little while ere he went north up the country. And when he got to East Agdir there Elis the priest came to him whom the young king had sent abroad into Spain. He told the king that messengers were come into the land from the king of Spain and Sira Ferant was the name of him who was at their head. He said they had much business with king Hacon; and besides that the king of Spain wished to be his friend, and bind that with the strongest bonds, and that the messengers lay there before them in the haven at Redsound. And when the king came thither then the messengers sought him, and told him their business. Then the king gave them this advice, to stay that winter in Norway at Tunsberg, and bide there till the king came from the north in the spring, and gave them that answer to their business which seemed best to him with the counsel of the best men. After that king Hacon went north into the land, and came at autumn to Bergen, and there prepared to spend the winter. That summer came Ivar Englasen from Iceland and told such tidings as had happened in his travels.

Going north he finds messengers from the king of Spain.

King Hacon keeps Yule at Bergen.



288. King Hacon the young lay that autumn in Stream-sound, as was written before, and the Danes stood in great fear of him; for they had been sore afraid in the summer of that strife which they had raised in Halland. The king sent messages in the autumn south to Halland into those districts that were not burnt, and laid on them a heavy fine; and said how many hundreds of neat they should pay him. But in any other case he said he would fare against them, and make their lot no better than those which had been burnt. The Danes undertook to pay all the imposts which the king laid on them, and they paid him a great number of cattle; but some of their fine they redeemed with wax or linen and silver, and other good trading wares. That fee was carried to king Hacon in Stream-sound. He lay on ship-board all up to Martinmass. The Zealanders lay in bands all the winter, and -were very afraid that the king would harry them. King Hacon had let them make ready for Yule for him in Tunsberg, and he fared thither before Yule, but set behind him at the King's Crag Ogmund crow-dance, and those who had stewardships away there east. The king spent Yule in Tunsberg, and straightway came tidings from Ogmund, that the king must come east to strengthen him, for that many big words of the Danes had been brought to them. King Hacon set off on his way at once, and passed straightway from Tunsberg two nights after Yule, and got a great storm, and right in his teeth; and had to beat up before he could make the harbour at Spjör to the east of the Fold. After that the king got on board a cutter, and let himself be carried to the mainland; and he went out by the upper way, stopping as he went at farm after farm; but he let the ships sail by the outer way east to the Elf, but he came to the King's Crag before the ships. He sat in the burg on the holm

A.D. 1256  
-1257.

King Hacon the young lays heavy burdens on the men of Halland.

He keeps Yule at Tunsberg, and then goes east to the King's Crag.

A.D. 1257. by the King's Crag, and there he was till Lent. But there came letters from his father Hacon, that he should fare north to Oslo to bishop Hacon, and bide there, till king Hacon came from the north, and they met and took counsel how they should deal with those troublesome questions of which Sira Ferant was the bearer; in that the king of Spain asked that king Hacon should wed his daughter the lady Christine to some one of his brothers. King Hacon the young sailed from the King's Crag on Ash Wednesday north to Oslo. And when he had stayed there a while, letters came to him from the east from his father-in-law earl Birgir that he should come east as speedily as he could to meet him. But for that his father was not yet come from the north; then he starts on his way out of Oslo to Tunsberg, and took on the voyage some sickness, but God healed him quickly. And when he came to Tunsberg, he went on ship-board and sailed east to the Elf, came to the King's Crag at the beginning of Passion Week, and fared thence to Ljodhouse, and there he found Waldemar the Swede-king, his brother in-law, and he greeted king Hacon with the greatest kindness. Then both rode up into Gothland together. And when earl Birgir heard that king Hacon, his son-in-law, was in the Swedish realm, then the earl had a talk with his men, and bade that all men should receive him as honourably as they could and his men too, and laid a great fine on any man that should receive the Northmen with mockery, or called them "Baggage," or other jeering words, for if they did they should only lose their neck-bones. That father and son and brother-in-law were all together at Easter in West Gothland at that farm which is called Lein; and the first day of Easter at mass the king Waldemar and the earl led king Hacon to the altar, and showed him all the greatest honour. And all

The two kings meet in the spring at Oslo to consult whether they should allow lady Christine to make a Spanish marriage.

The young king Hacon goes east to see king Waldemar the Swede king and earl Birgir.

things passed most kindly between those kinsmen; A.D. 1257. they seated king Hacon between them. They parted too with the greatest love and kinship. After that king Hacon rode down to the King's Crag and stayed there some time during the spring, and busked him on his journey thence north into the Bay. He was always riding, and amused himself with hawks and hounds. And one day as he went east over the river into the Golden-isle for a pastime, and when he fared thence, the next night he took a sickness. He was then "boun" to sail north to the Bay; and he went on board his ship, and got a fair breeze. But when he came from the east to the Fold, the sickness began to press him hard. He got into a cutter, and let himself be rowed across the Fold to Tunsberg, and be brought up to Monklife, and there he took to his bed. Then a leech came to him who had come from abroad out of Spain with Sira Ferant, and gave advice as to the cause of his sickness. But the sickness got worse and worse nevertheless. And he died two nights after St. Cross mass. That all thought the greatest scathe, for king Hacon was most beloved by his men, and liberal of money. He was rather a tall man of middle size, well grown, fair of face, well haired, and best eyed of any man, a fairly strong man and skilled in fence, and in all things the nimblest of men; the best horseman of all those who were then in Norway. The body of king Hacon was borne in to Oslo, and he was buried in Halvards church, where king Sigurd Jewry-farer was buried.

On his return he takes a sickness and dies, and is buried in Halvards church in Oslo.

289. King Hacon sat that winter which is now spoken of at Bergen, and this was the fortieth winter of his reign. And after that those preachers had come to him whom he had sent in the autumn south to Denmark, he saw from their words that the Dane-king had little mind to come to terms with the Northmen. And when king Hacon saw that nothing

King Hacon in Bergen.

A.D. 1257. would come of the peace-making, then he sent out letters of summons over the whole of Norway. The least levies came from Helgeland, but they were all the greater as they came south. He sent word to archbishop Einar and all the suffragan bishops that they should come to him as quickly as they could and follow him on this expedition. King Hacon made them launch that ship which he had caused to be built at Bergen and called her Maria-clinker. That was the bravest of all ships. Fire leapt from the rollers as she went into the water. As Sturla sung:

Sturla's  
verses.

The famous king his beakèd warships  
Let plunge into the salt sea brine,  
Fire flashed from heated rollers  
As cold keels dived into the deep.  
O dread lord then bound to serve thee  
Thy commons came o'er all the land;  
The barons bold brought up the levies  
Hugely great from Norway's realm.

He sails to  
the Bay  
and hears  
of his son's  
death.

290. When king Hacon was boun from Bergen he held on first to the Bay. And when he came east off Agdir, he heard of the death of his son king Hacon the young. He thought that, as it was, great tidings and a heavy scathe. Then he held on first to Tunsberg, and summoned thither to him the archbishop and all the wisest men who were in the land to take counsel, how he should answer in that matter which the messengers of the king of Spain had brought to king Hacon and the lady Christine. But when the archbishop came and it was talked about, then it seemed to some of the wise men that this was a worthy marriage, if luck followed it, as was likely that it would. It was the king's desire, with the advice of his friends, to say "yes" to the messengers in this that he would send the lady Christine, his daughter, out of the land to Spain, according as the king had sent word, and that she should come into

He says  
"yes" to  
the king of  
Spain's  
messengers.  
Lady  
Christine  
is to choose  
when she  
sees them  
which  
of the  
brothers  
she likes  
best.



his power on these terms, that the lady should choose out of his brothers for her husband him whom she best liked, and those good men whom the king gave her to bear her company. After that the king set about her journey and picked out men to go with her. At the head of them was bishop Peter of Hammar, and Simon the preacher and other learned men besides. There also were at the head of the expedition Ivar Engla's son, Thorlaug the hot, and Lodinn with the lock, Amundi Harold's son, and many other noble men. They had more than a hundred men and many noble ladies were in company with her. King Hacon sent her off with so much money in gold and burnt silver for her portion, and such store of white and grey furs and other precious things, as no one had ever heard that such a store of goods had ever been given before to any king's daughter of Norway. King Hacon made them fit out for them a great ship, and down below were built berths on one board for the lady and on the other board for Sira Ferant; because he could not be up on deck for sea-sickness. This voyage was undertaken with the greatest cost and courtesy. As Sturla sung:

The proud king sent the youthful lady  
 Out abroad o'er swollen sea,  
 Ne'er more richly dowered daughter  
 Of a monarch have we heard.  
 All the wave-wont oar-steed <sup>1</sup> pullers  
 Thy daughter hailed on southern sea,  
 As if a mighty inland ruler  
 Were on his progress 'cross the main.

A.D. 1257.  
 A hundred  
 men and  
 many  
 noble  
 ladies go  
 with her.  
 No king's  
 daughter  
 of Norway  
 was ever  
 so well  
 fitted out.  
 Sturla's  
 verses.

As soon as the company of the lady was ready, they sailed away on the sea, and came off the sea at Yarmouth in England. There we will leave off for a while to tell of their doings.

They set  
 sail and  
 come to  
 Yarmouth.

<sup>1</sup> Gallies.

A.D. 1257. 291. King Hacon stayed in Tunsberg, and a great  
 King Ha- and picked force came to him from Norway. He  
 con has a had a very large force and levies all round the Bay.  
 picked  
 force in  
 the Bay. As Sturla sang :

Sturla's  
 verses.

Wealth bestower, blades from Finland  
 O'er the brine to seek thee came,  
 Foaming waves then tried the timbers ;  
 Thou didst let from every boat-house  
 Loaded barks sweep in broad sea ;  
 East of Elf their course they steered ;  
 The wolf that rends the forest<sup>1</sup> young  
 Dashed foam upon the painted prows.

Messen-  
 gers pass  
 between  
 the king  
 and king  
 Christo-  
 pher as to  
 peace.

When king Hacon was in Tunsberg there came  
 from the south from Denmark, Absalom the preacher,  
 who was provincial of all the preacher's cloisters of  
 the northern tongue. He was sent to king Hacon  
 from the Dane-king to say that the Northmen should  
 not war on his realm. He said that the Dane-king  
 would sooner have a meeting with the king of Nor-  
 way, and make peace with him according to the  
 counsel of good men. King Hacon laid this before  
 his friends, and their opinion was this that they could  
 not take as serious what the Danes said, since the  
 Danes had not fulfilled before what they had given  
 their words to do. And for that king Hacon gave  
 this answer to brother Absalom that he would sail  
 south to Denmark as he had purposed, but go with  
 care and peace till it was proved whether he and  
 king Christopher could come to terms, or whether  
 these words were naught but lies and nonsense.  
 Absalom fared with this answer south to Denmark  
 and along with him prior Sigurd who had already  
 passed between the kings that winter.

King Ha-  
 con does  
 not trust  
 them.

After that king Hacon set out on his voyage from  
 Tunsberg, and had with him Mary-clinker, it was a

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<sup>1</sup> Wind.

drake and a thirty bencher, and the bravest of all A.D. 1257.  
ships that had been made in Norway. The head and  
beaks were plated with gold. The sail was set with  
fair paintings. King Hacon had many other big  
ships and excellently well fitted. And in the sun-  
shine it seemed very like as if fire burnt on the heads  
and vanes and gilded shields which were on the stems  
and sterns. As Sturla sung :

Twice-tried gold, O Rhine-flame<sup>1</sup> giver,  
In scrolls upon thy sails was seen,  
The blood-red prows stretched out like necks  
Rose high above thy Dragon ship  
The rows of shields glowed bright as fire  
Gold-mounted at thy galleys sides,  
The burning gold-wave deeply reddened  
All shields among that glistening fleet.

Sturlas'  
verses.

When king Hacon was boun he sailed from Tuns- King Ha-  
berg with all the host east across the Fold. Then a con sails  
great host joined him from the east across the firth. from Tuns-  
When the king sailed east out of Vegg, the Har- berg east.  
dangers Thorir Grips' son and Bard Gro's son ran A collision  
aboard the ship of archbishop Einar, and from the at sea.  
stern down to the waist, all fell into the sea  
together, the stern and the shields which were on it ;  
but the vanes caught in the sail of Thorir's and  
Bard's ship, and they sailed away with them. The  
archbishop made them put off a boat to pick up the  
stern and the shields. After that he made them set  
the stern back on the ship, and fasten it strongly,  
and the shields outside it, and after that he sailed  
to Ekrisles and found the king there. But as soon The king  
as the king knew that the ship of the archbishop at Ekrisles.  
was broken, then he showed that it disliked him  
much, but some spoke so that the damage was less  
than the bishop's men said. But when that was told  
to the archbishop, then he made them take down the  
No love  
lost be-  
tween the

<sup>1</sup> Gold.

A.D. 1257. stern, and it drifted about along the strand. Things king and were fair with the king and the archbishop; but archbishop they were not very great friends. But to squire Finar. Magnus the archbishop was a great friend though to few others.

At the Ekrisles the king makes a speech to his council as to the loss of his son, and praises Magnus.

When king Hacon lay in the Ekrisles, he held there meetings of his council; and made a speech to them and disclosed the scathe which he had got, and all the men of Norway in the loss of king Hacon the young. And after that he spake thus: "Though  
 " Almighty God had taken him from them, still there  
 " was the making of a good king where his son  
 " squire Magnus was." Then the king made a clever speech as to whether it seemed good to men to choose him as king instead of him who was then lost to them. But all men gave great praise to that, and said that they would be glad to do it. The archbishop put in his oar most. Then the king answers: "Lord  
 " archbishop," he said, "When we had a talk as to  
 " sharing the land between my sons, you were very  
 " eager that king Hacon alone should bear the title  
 " of king after my day, but that squire Magnus should  
 " be duke. It seemed to you and many other men  
 " wonderful that I would not openly make such a  
 " settlement between them; but methought it wrong to  
 " call these my sons of equal birth by different titles.  
 " I then laid, as ever, my business into God's hand,  
 " that he should settle between them. And now it  
 " has so come about that he is called away whom  
 " all were then willing to exalt, but he lives still to  
 " whom ye and others more beside of our councillors  
 " would have granted less honour than is his rightful  
 " due." The archbishop answers: "I agree to that  
 " lord," he said, "that I was eager that there should  
 " be but one king at once over Norway; and I granted  
 " to none better to enjoy this than to king Hacon,

The king declares his wish that Magnus should have the title of king.

The archbishop agrees.



“ for he was the elder of those brothers; and I had A.D. 1257.  
 “ given him the title of king. But since God hath  
 “ called him away, then I grant to no one the title  
 “ of king so well as to squire Magnus.” To this all  
 gave the greatest praise. It was then settled that the  
 king should hold a general Thing there, and that Mag- A Thing  
is sum-  
moned on  
this matter.  
 nus should have the title of king given him there.  
 But though it were mostly the custom that the king  
 should be chosen in Drontheim at the Eyra-Thing, then  
 it seemed to all most prudent that the land should not  
 be kingless while king Hacon was away out of the  
 realm.

292. On St. John’s eve king Hacon held a general Magnus  
is chosen  
king at the  
Ekrisles.  
 Thing in the Ekrisles. There squire Magnus was  
 chosen king; archbishop Einar gave him the title of  
 king. After that he swore law and right to all the  
 folk of the land on the Lord’s Cross. Afterwards earl  
 Canute took the oath to king Magnus, and after him  
 the liegemen, and marshals and pages; and after that  
 twelve freemen out of every province. On the Saint’s A great  
feast.  
 day king Hacon had king Magnus at a banquet, and  
 all the bishops. The archbishop had a great hurt  
 in his hand, for that he was not there. There were  
 all the liegemen and captains. But the day after king King  
Magnus  
makes  
 Magnus gave great gifts, first to king Hacon his father.  
 To the archbishop he gave a long ship of more than many pre-  
sents, and  
stays be-  
hind to  
guard the  
land.  
 twenty benches, the greatest treasure, and more gifts  
 still. He gave to all the best men who were at his  
 banquet worthy gifts. For that he became at once  
 greatly beloved. Then king Magnus chose a great train,  
 and most of those who had served his brother king  
 Hacon. He was to stay behind to guard the land.

293. When these things were settled, king Hacon King  
Hacon  
sails for  
Denmark  
with 320  
ships.  
 rowed with the host away from the Ekrisles. King  
 Magnus fared north into the Bay, and sat in Tunsberg  
 that summer. King Hacon had (with him) to Denmark

A.D. 1257. three hundred and fifteen ships. This fleet was very dazzling. As Sturla sung :

Sturla's  
verses.

Son of kings, 'twas as a fire-flash  
Rising ruddy o'er the main,  
When ye held on with your galleys.  
'Gainst the glorious Eormen land.<sup>1</sup>  
Waves washed wildly o'er the bulwarks  
But the king's men skilled to steer  
Their vessels straight to Eyra-sound ;  
Lord of lands ! each timber shivered.

King  
Hacon  
comes to  
the Sound  
and to  
Copen-  
hagen.

King Hacon held on with his host south to Öresund (the Sound) and to Copenhagen, and lay in Refshala deep.<sup>2</sup> The Danes were much struck with the host, and thought it both great and in good trim. They said, as was true, that no such outlandish host had ever before been seen to come into Denmark. As Sturla sung :—

Sturla's  
verses.

O'er the broad fleet the fire of heaven  
Seemed to be rising on the waves,  
When the monarch's gallant galleys  
Rode at anchor in the Sound.  
So far as Danish story tells  
No other king had ever come  
In such force within those waters ;  
O mighty prince ! you steered on straight.

King  
Hacon  
and king  
Christo-  
pher meet  
at Copen-  
hagen.

King Hacon came to Copenhagen on Tuesday, but the Friday after the Dane-king came into the town, and had a great host, and many noble lords of Denmark. There was Jacob archbishop of Lund and other suffragan bishops. There was Jarmar of Ræ in Vendland. And when men went about making the quarrel up then it was long between the utterance of the kings. Then there were many Northmen

<sup>1</sup> The mighty land, Denmark.

<sup>2</sup> A bank off the famous Trekroner battery.

who were eager that king Hacon should harry the realm of the Dane-king. But the king had granted six nights peace, so that he could not harry. As Gizur Thorvald's son sung, who was there with the king:—

He the king bade all enjoyers  
Of the serpents golden lair,<sup>1</sup>  
All whom he enriched with treasure  
To keep the truce six nights to come.

Gizur's  
verses.

Archbishop Einar went most about seeking for peace, and many others with him. But the case was this, so it ever has been before with the Northmen and Danes, that each thought their own scathe the greater as soon as they came to any reckoning of what they had lost. Then the archbishop with the king's leave, sought that each king should doom as to the loss of himself and his men. And when that was brought about, it still stood in the way that Christopher would doom first. But when this was brought before king Hacon, he looked at it in this way, as was true, that he that doomed last was master over the whole matter; and so he agreed to that. But ere this agreement was come to, king Hacon had told off all his force where they were to land and harry if the settlement were not agreed to. The Danes were very eager for the settlement, for the power of king Hacon seemed to them great and his men hard to tackle. As Sturla sung:—

The arch-  
bishop  
tries to  
make  
peace on  
the under-  
standing  
that each  
king  
should  
appraise  
the losses  
on his  
side.

The Danes  
are eager  
for a  
settlement.

O far famed king of Agdirs coast,  
All dwellers by the Southern sea  
Thought it dreadful with faint hearts  
To keep the warflames tryst<sup>2</sup> with thee  
O! lord of Sogns trusty blades  
All the Danes begged peace of thee,  
O! wise king of men, for truly  
Thy foes were glad to save their lives.

Sturla's  
verses.

<sup>1</sup> Gold.

| <sup>2</sup> Battle.

A.D. 1257. When king Christopher considered this over with his counsellors, he thought it very difficult to draw up any agreement with the Northmen. Then he took a wise counsel, with the advice of his friends, and forgave to king Hacon all those things which the Northmen had done against the Danes. And on this the kings met themselves. And when king Hacon heard this decision then he was in nowise behind-hand for his part, but forgave the Danes all that strife and oppression which they had made to the Northmen. To this matter all lent a helping hand who were by, and all were glad at the peace except archbishop Jacob, and lord Jarmar of Vendland. After the peace-making king Hacon drank with king Christopher in his land-tent. After that the Dane-king went on board king Hacon's ship and drank with him. With this peace they entered thoroughly into the bonds of friendship, so that the Dane-king was to be to the king of Norway in the stead of a son, and king Hacon in the stead of a father to him; each too was to help the other with his power, what time either of them thought he needed help. And after this each gave the other good gifts. Then king Hacon asked king Christopher whether he would take of him as a gift the ship Maria-clinker, or any three others which he might choose out of the host. But king Christopher agreed to the gift, but said he would choose later on when he sent word to king Hacon which of the ships he would rather have. After that all things went as blithely as could be with them, and they parted with the greatest love.

The two  
kings make  
mutual  
conces-  
sions, and  
peace is  
made.

The two  
kings  
drink  
together.

King  
Hacon  
offers  
Maria-  
clinker  
to king  
Chris-  
topher.

King Hacon fared after the peace-making north into Norway to his realm; and all were glad at his coming home. As Sturla says:—

Sturla's  
verses.

The lord of men gave precious gifts  
Of gold to Scania's mighty king;  
The noble scatterer of ore  
Was blessed by fortune as he fared.



The lord of Rauma soon came back  
 Unharmed, with glory at his hest,  
 Fame followed him at every step ;  
 His brave companions noted that.

A.D. 1257.

King Hacon held on first to Tunsberg, and found there king Magnus and lady Margaret the queen, After that they fared both north to Bergen. Then king Hacon granted to king Magnus the province of Rygja. He also gave it out to men that both the kings would go north to Drontheim and sit there the next winter. They made ready their voyage north to Drontheim. The queen was on board the king's ship and the lady Rikiza.

King Hacon fares to Bergen, and gives king Magnus a province in fief. He fares north to Drontheim.

294. Now it must be told of the voyage of the lady Christine and her company. We parted from them when they had come to England. But thence they sailed south across the sea into Normandy. And when they came thither Ivar Englasen wished to sail by the western course ; but Sira Ferant and Thorlaug the hot and those who had errands to the king of France would see him first. Then they turned their course up the country, and bought more than seventy horses besides those which they already had. Those two, Thorlaug the hot and Sira Ferant, went to see the king of France ; and he took kindly the messages of the king of Norway. And when he heard of the journey of the lady, then he gave them counsel that they should not fare by the west course round Gascony ; but bade them fare across his country ; and along with that he gave them a man with his letter and seal for all the furtherance that they needed. And that man fared with them all the way to that town which is called Narbon, and lies by the sea of Jewry. But as soon as that lord who was in the town knew of the lady's coming, he let that very day all her men be lodged and boarded by him. Thence they fared into Catalonia—that is in the

Story of Lady Christine's travelling to Spain.

They leave England, cross France to Narbonne and along the coast to Gerona in Aragon,

A.D. 1257. realm of the king of Aragon—and they were very and thence well received. Thence they crossed great fells and to Barce- by hard roads on to the sea of Jewry. The lady lona, bore the journey well, and ever better the further treated bore the journey well, and ever better the further with great they went. They fared to the town which is called honour. Gerona. And as soon as the earl who was in the town heard of the lady he rode to meet her from the town, and a bishop with him, two good miles with three hundred men. And when she came to the town then the earl held her bridle and led her into the town, and the bishop on the other side, till they came to where a lodging was taken for her. With so great honours was she greeted wherever she came. When the lady rode to Barcelona, the king of Aragon rode out to meet her with three bishops and a countless host more than three miles, and greeted her most worthily, and took her bridle in his own hand, and led her horse and her on it into the town, and kept worthy entertainment for her and her men for two days, but afterwards (he did so) all over his realm. Wherever they turned into a town then knights and barons rode to meet them, the lady and her company, according as the king of Aragon had provided. The princess came two nights before Yule to Castile, to that town which is called Sarri (Sarrasin?) and there rode out to meet her Louis, brother of the king of Castile, and the bishop of Astorga, and they were well treated. They came on Yule eve to Burgos, and there they were well received, and they lodged in a cloister of monks in which the king's sister was, the lady Berengaria, and there they heard mass in the town the third day of Yule, and the princess offered a great table cup, but another like it she had already offered in Rothemadum (Rouen?). And from such things and others like them she got so much fame in this journey that no one had ever heard the like of it that any foreign princess had

They come  
into Cas-  
tile and  
to Burgos,  
Valentia,  
and Val-  
ladolid.

gotten as great honour. And so men think that never A.D. 1257  
has an expedition been made from Norway which -1258.  
has been as worthily received as this by foreign  
princes since king Sigurd Jewry-farer set out. The The king and queen of Castile  
fourth day of Yule they rode out of the town of treat her with great honour.  
Burgos by the counsel of the king of Castile, for he  
wished that the princess should come to him the  
eighth day of Yule. That same day at even the  
lady Berengaria sent her seven women's saddles, and  
all well ornamented, and that one with a canopy which  
she herself was wont to use. And that same day the  
king of Castile rode out of Valinz (Valencia) to meet  
the princess with a great host, and greet her as he would  
his own daughter; and himself took her bridle, and  
led her worthily into the town. The tenth day the  
king rode with her to Valladolid, and then came  
riding to meet them the king's son with a countless  
host of knights and barons, archbishops and suffragan  
bishops and ambassadors both of the heathen and  
Christians. The king made them choose a lodging for  
the princess there in the town, and esteem her in all  
things so much that no foreign man had come  
thither, neither man nor woman who had been as  
well treated in every thing. And each time that the  
king wished to visit her, or the queen, then they both  
led her to her seat. After that the king of Aragon The king of Aragon  
sent letters to the king of Spain, his son-in-law, and wishes to marry her, but is thought too old.  
to the queen his daughter, and begged that the king  
should wed him to the princess. The king brought  
this before the princess and the Northmen, and let  
her have a choice in this betrothal; and said that he  
was a good fellow, and a great prince. But for that  
the Northmen knew that the king was well-stricken  
in years, then they had something to say against the  
match. And nothing more came of it than this. And Then the king of Castile reckons  
after that the king reckoned up all his brothers, and  
told the character of each of them. He said that

A.D. 1257 Frederick was the eldest of these brothers; and made  
 -1258. him out a bold man and good knight, and a good  
 up his judge in his land; a good sportsman, and for that he  
 brothers had a scar on his lip. But his brother Henry, he  
 and gives each his character. said, was the best knight of all the brothers; but he  
 said, he had no need to speak of him, for he had  
 risen against him and his father, and made war on  
 their realm. But Sancho archbishop-designate of  
 Toledo, he said, was good and well-shaped. But Philip  
 archbishop-designate of Seville, he said was not made  
 for a clerk, but rather to go about with pastimes,  
 hawks, and hounds, and he said he was the best man  
 at fighting single-handed with bears and wild boars,  
 and ever merry and mirthful and courteous, and the  
 best of fellows. He is the strongest too of all our  
 brothers, and a good knight. But of his stature and  
 beauty he said nothing, for the Northmen might see  
 that of itself. It seemed to them that this brother  
 pleased the king best of all his brothers, and so the  
 princess and the Northmen thought too; and for that  
 she chose that one to be her husband, with the  
 counsel of her friends. So says Sturla of the journey  
 of the princess:

Sturla's  
 verses.

I have heard that from great cities  
 To meet the lady hosts rode out,  
 The Spanish folk were fain to finger  
 The gold so red of thy bestowing.  
 The fair bride chose then by thy counsel  
 Among the worshipful king's brothers  
 Him to whom she gave her hand.

It was on Ash Wednesday that lord Philip betrothed  
 the princess by God's mercy and the counsel of the  
 king of Castille and her own will. But this was the  
 first of her boons, that she begged lord Philip this,  
 that he would let a church be built to the saint  
 king Olaf; and he grants it at once with thorough  
 good will. But there was no need of many words;



whatsoever it was that she asked it was granted A.D. 1258.  
 there and then. But it was so settled that the bridal They are  
 should be on the Sunday after Easter week. And married  
 when that time came, then it was celebrated with the on the  
 greatest honour that might be in that land. But Sunday  
 Wednesday after the bridal there came into Spain after  
 Thoralli and Bjarni, pages of king Hacon, and told Easter  
 of the king's doings. And after that the Northmen week.  
 busked them to go away. And they fared back to The  
 Norway, bishop Peter and Andrew and Nicholas son train of  
 of Amundi Harold's son. But these turned off into Northmen  
 Jewryland Ivar Engla son and Thorlaug the hot; and return  
 Ivar died on this journey. home.

295. That winter, after king Hacon had gone to The king  
 Denmark in the summer, he sat in Drontheim as was goes south  
 before written. Thence he busked him in the spring, over the  
 and king Magnus with him, to go up the country, fells to the  
 and they fared south over the Dovre-fell. King Hacon Bay, and  
 had then ruled over Norway forty and one winters. the queen  
 Lady Margaret the queen went by the coast, and had sails  
 that ship to Bergen which is called Sheeps-womb. thither in  
 But then she took Marys-clinker and sailed on in her Marys-  
 east to the Bay. She met king Hacon in Tunsberg. clinker.  
 Archbishop Einar did not come from the north, for Troubles in  
 he and the king had parted with some coldness. Denmark.  
 King Hacon sets out on his voyage from Tunsberg  
 east to the Elf, and king Magnus too to meet earl  
 Birgir. The Dane-king had then sent word both  
 to Norway and Sweden that king Hacon and earl  
 Birgir should come to his help; for there was then  
 great strife in Denmark from the warfare which  
 Jarmar made on Zealand. But the sons of count Alf  
 harried in Jutland, John and his brothers. And from  
 this warfare there was the greatest strife in the realm  
 of the Danes.

296. King Hacon and king Magnus and earl Birgir King  
 met in the Elf; and they spoke much among them- Christo-  
pher

A.D. 1258. selves of the message of the Dane-king and those  
 sends to things which concerned their lands. Then they made  
 king up their minds that they would fit out a host from  
 Hacon and earl Bir- both lands that year, out of Norway and Sweden, and  
 gir to fare when they were boun to yield help to king  
 come and Christopher against his foes. It was so settled be-  
 help him tween them that each of them should have forty  
 against his enemies, hundred men, unless either of them wished to have  
 Jarmar a greater host. Then all things went as ever blithely  
 and Count Alf.

They agree with them, for their friendship waxed ever more and  
 to send a more the oftener they met. Then also was that plan  
 joint force taken that lady Rikiza went up into Sweden with  
 to help her father, and king Hacon let her go with all honour  
 him when he needed on his part. Squire Sverrir stayed behind with king  
 it. Hacon, and king Hacon was always very kind to  
 him.

King  
 Hacon  
 that sum-  
 mer in  
 Bergen.

in him and the king loved him much. King Hacon  
 sent then south to Denmark the ship Marys-clinker  
 to the Dane king. And he took this present kindly,  
 and also the messages which came to him that king  
 Hacon and earl Birgir would come to him to help  
 him as soon as he thought he needed it. King Hacon  
 fared out of the Elf as soon as he was boun, and  
 north into the Bay, and he tarried there a little while  
 in Tunsberg, and fared thence north into the land  
 and came to Bergen at the Wake-tide<sup>1</sup> and dwelt  
 there the summer, and settled there many things.  
 Before that in the spring most part of the town of  
 Tunsberg was burnt, and many men got there great  
 loss of goods.

In the  
 autumn  
 the prin-  
 cess Chris-  
 tine's train  
 return,  
 praising

That autumn they came home who had followed  
 the princess Christine; these brothers Simon and  
 Lodin lock and Amundi Harold's son; and they had  
 fared by the outer course from Spain in a cog.  
 But bishop Peter fared overland into Flanders, and

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<sup>1</sup> St. John's tide.

he came somewhat later. Andrew Nicholas' son stayed behind in France then twelve months. When bishop Peter and his company met king Hacon, they were able to tell him many tidings from foreign parts. They had much to say as to how the king of Spain had greeted the princess Christine, his daughter, and all her company, and in what a princely way he had sent them away from his land. They said that was no less money than eight hundred marks pure that he gave them over and above what they needed for their expenses. They had much to tell how great a friend the king was of king Hacon; and with whomsoever king Hacon had strife, then his strength should be at his disposal so long as it were not against the king of France, or the king of Aragon his cousin, or the king of England. King Hacon promised too to grant in return his strength to the king of Spain, if it were not against the Swede-king or the Dane-king, or the king of England. The king of Spain was then fitting out his host against heathendom, he was very eager that king Hacon should go with him and so redeem the cross which he had taken; for it was so by the pope's leave that the cross might be redeemed if a pilgrimage were made to Jerusalem. Bishop Peter that summer went up the country to his see at Hammar, and took worthy gifts from king Hacon; and they parted with the greatest friendship.

297. King Hacon sat that summer in Bergen. Then there was with him Gizur Thorvald's son. The king then made this settlement in Iceland, that he sent Gizur out to Iceland and gave him the title of earl. Gizur gave his word to keep the land in peace in return, and to let all the freemen pay skatt to the king, just as he had before offered. Gizur brought forward many reasons that he could easily bring this about. The king gave him along with the title of earl many worthy gifts and sent

A.D. 1258.  
the king  
of Spain  
for his  
liberality.

The  
Spanish  
king pro-  
poses that  
he and  
king  
Hacon  
should  
become  
allies.

King  
Hacon in  
Bergen.  
He makes  
Gizur an  
earl, and  
sends him  
to Iceland  
to manage  
the land  
and collect  
skatts and  
dues.  
He also  
sends

A.D. 1258. him off well and worthily. He sent out with him  
 trusty men Thorhalla the white his henchman, to discern how  
 to watch the earl behaved in good faith to the king. Many  
 how Gizur trusty men of the king went out in other ships that  
 behaves. summer to keep an eye on the king's business and see  
 whether the earl dealt with them as he had promised  
 the king.

But when Gizur came to Iceland then he made it  
 very plain, as he ought to have done, how king  
 Hacon had made his honour greater than that of any  
 other man in Iceland by that title which he had  
 given him, together with many other honours. He  
 let this follow after that king Hacon had so given  
 him this title that it should not cost him a single  
 penny, and that not a skatt should be laid on the land  
 for it. He also said as to those men who made  
 themselves hand-bound to him as henchmen or pages,  
 that they should have the same titles in Norway at  
 king Hacon's court. At that many good men were  
 brought to become hand-bound to him, and swore  
 oaths to him and faith to king Hacon. Afterwards  
 men became aware of that, that it was false what he  
 told them of the king's words. But all the same  
 men kept their faith towards him and king Hacon.  
 There are many stories as to the dealings of the earl  
 and those Icelanders, which we think not needful to  
 write in this history; but still some of them must  
 be spoken of later. In the winter ere earl Gizur  
 came to Iceland Thorvard Thorarin's son cut off  
 Thorgils Scar because king Hacon set Thorgils over  
 Eyja-firth, and all the districts to the north of  
 Oxnardals heath which the king claimed as his own;  
 but Thorvard thought they belonged to him by right  
 of Steinvor his mother-in-law?

298. King Hacon in the autumn made ready to sit  
 that winter in Bergen, and there he sat the winter  
 over. This was the forty-second winter of his reign.

Gizur does  
 not behave  
 truthfully  
 in Iceland.

King Chris-  
 topher  
 sends to  
 ask for the



In the spring after came these words from Denmark from king Christopher, that king Hacon should come to help him as he and earl Birgir of Sweden had promised. And when this message came to king Hacon he summoned to him his liegemen and stewards, and had such levies out of the land as he chose. He let also those ships be launched which he wished to have, and busked him for his voyage. And when he was "boun" he sailed east along the land. And when he came south off Jadir there came to meet him two knights from Denmark, and told those tidings that Christopher the Dane-king was dead. Along with that, that the queen and the other princes sent special word to king Hacon that he should come to help them, as he had promised king Christopher. That king Hacon brought before his friends and counsellors. But whatever any one might say, it was not the king's nature not to keep his word. And for that king Hacon held on his course; he ran in first to Tunsberg. Then a great host was gathered in the Bay, and king Hacon held on to Denmark that summer and had both a great and picked force. And he held on with his host to Copenhagen, and there found the queen. Earl Birgir did not come to Denmark in that summer, but yet had his levies out and came no further than east to Bleking. When king Hacon came to Copenhagen, the queen and the Dane-chiefs had come to terms with the sons of Count Alf; and they thought they did not need the help of king Hacon and the Northmen. But it was plain from the words of king Hacon that he thought the Danes had not kept to what had been agreed between them. King Hacon gave the queen worthy gifts, and so did the queen to him in return. When king Hacon lay at Copenhagen he let them take a bark in resound over against Malm-how (Malmö) which lord John owned, brother of archbishop Jacob

A.D. 1259  
-1260.

promised  
help.

The king  
calls out  
the levies  
in the  
spring,  
and sails  
east.

Death of  
king Chris-  
topher.

King  
Hacon  
holds on  
with a  
great force  
to Copen-  
hagen, and  
found that  
the queen  
had made  
matters up  
with the  
sons of  
count Alf.

A.D. 1260. in Lund. On her were those men who had been with  
 King lord Jarmar. But the archbishop and his brothers of  
 Hacon sails back to all the Danish chiefs were the greatest backers of  
 Norway. Jarmar. King Hacon let these men be brought before  
 Eric, son of Christo- him, and bade the Danes come and scan them whether  
 pher, is they were chapmen or robbers. But the landsmen  
 chosen said they knew of a surety that they were robbers.  
 king by Some were beheaded and some punished in other ways.  
 the Danes. King Hacon kept the bark ; and that was his horse-  
 bark afterwards. But as soon as Jarmar heard  
 that king Hacon had come to Denmark then he fled  
 away and sailed south under the Vendland coast.  
 And after that king Hacon sailed away from Denmark  
 and back into his realm. The Danes took for their  
 king Eric, son of king Christopher ; and he was  
 then a child in years.

King 299. King Hacon came back in the autumn to  
 Hacon in Norway, and fared north to Bergen, and sat there the  
 Bergen. winter. And this was the forty-third winter of his  
 Death of reign. That winter bishop Peter died at Hammar ;  
 Peter, and all men thought it was great man-scathe. After  
 bishop of Hammar. the death of bishop Peter the canons then in Hammar  
 had meetings among themselves, and spoke about  
 choosing a bishop. But they could not agree about it,  
 and the canons got no one chosen, until the choice  
 went away from them to the archbishop. And after  
 that they sent men north to archbishop Einar ; and  
 begged that he would utter a sentence, who should be  
 bishop of those whom they had named. The arch-  
 bishop wrote letters east, and gave them back their  
 right of choice, but still named that canon whose  
 name was Lodin, whom it seemed to him they should  
 choose. But Lodin was no great friend of king  
 Hacon.

Lodin  
 chosen to  
 succeed  
 him.

The king 300. The king sat in Bergen that winter. He had  
 hears from before in the summer heard from Iceland that earl  
 Gizur's Gizur had put little heart into backing his business

with the Icelanders. The king took that counsel that he sent a ship out suddenly to the land; and so laid it down that they must get out before the Althing. Then letters were sent out with them, and the king laid down how great scatt he would have from the land, and also what the earl should have. The king bade these letters be brought to the Althing, and asked for a decision there and then from the men of the land in return. With these letters Ivar Arnljot's son went, and Paul linen-strings, the king's henchman. They got out before the Althing, and went to the Thing. There they met earl Gizur and most of the leading men. Then the letters of king Hacon were brought before them, and there was great difference of opinion how they were to be received. The earl backed the king's errand, but still in a way which gave the letters another turn. But the Southlanders, who were the greatest friends of the earl, spoke most against the scatt, and so too those who came from the east beyond Thjorsá. And the end of the matter was that naught came of the errand of Ivar and his companion; and they sailed from Iceland that same summer to seek the king. It was their report, that the Southlanders would not have refused the scatt so boldly if they had not known that it was against the earl's will to grant it.

A.D. 1260.  
faithless-  
ness. He  
sends  
letters to  
the Al-  
thing, and  
lays down  
what scatts  
he claimed,  
and what  
earl Gizur  
was to  
have.

The Al-  
thing comes  
to no de-  
cision and  
the king's  
messengers  
return  
home.

301. King Hacon went out of Bergen east to the Bay that same summer that he sent Ivar out, and with him went Magnus the king's son. They sailed all the way east to the Elf; and there earl Birgir came to meet them. Then all went very blithely between them. The earl was at a banquet with the king and his young sons, and many noble men with him. They then again bound their friendship firmly, so that nothing should sever it while they both lived. They also agreed that they would meet the spring after. And the king and the earl parted. King

King  
Hacon  
and Mag-  
nus meet  
earl Birgir  
at the  
"Elf."

A.D. 1260 Hacon fared north into the Bay. There was then  
 -1261. with him Henry bishop of Holar in Iceland, who  
 had then followed the king long. And when the  
 king came from the east over the Fold, bishop Henry  
 took a sickness. They sailed west over the Fold to  
 Tunsberg. And when they had stayed a little while  
 in the town bishop Henry died. His body was  
 buried in Olaf's church at Tunsberg, and king Hacon  
 himself praised him in a speech at the brink of the  
 grave, and brought into it many fair and clever  
 words, and said much in praise of the bishop, as was  
 worthy for many reasons.

King Hacon and king Magnus fare to Nidaros, and find the archbishop there keeping Olaf's wake, and canon Lodin chosen bishop of Hammar against the king's will. 302. After that king Hacon and king Magnus went north to Bergen and thence to Drontheim, and meant to go north at Olaf's eve. And when they came to Nidaros they found archbishop Einar in the town, and a great host of folk who had come to the wake. There too had come canon Lodin of Hammar by the archbishop's advice, and was chosen to be bishop against the king's will. And for that he made it a matter of quarrel with the archbishop. When king Hacon was running into the river, the king's ship swung round on the bank off Bakki and stuck fast there. The archbishop rowed out to meet him and bade that all men who were most skilful should come thither to get the ship off the shoal. But the king would not accept help from him. After that the king made them set shores under the ship, so that she might not heel over when the tide ebbed. But when the flood came, then the ship floated. Then the kings rowed into the town, and the archbishop made a fair procession to meet them, and kissed king Hacon. Sira Lodin went from the archbishop's side and kissed king Hacon, but not very heartily. And when the kings had stayed a little while in the town they held a meeting with the archbishop about the choice of a bishop of Hammar. The archbishop would have no

Death of  
 bishop  
 Henry of  
 Holar;  
 dies and is  
 buried at  
 Tunsberg.

King  
 Hacon and  
 king Mag-  
 nus fare to  
 Nidaros,  
 and find  
 the arch-  
 bishop  
 there keep-  
 ing Olaf's  
 wake, and  
 canon  
 Lodin  
 chosen  
 bishop of  
 Hammar  
 against the  
 king's will.

The king's  
 ship runs  
 on a shoal,  
 but he will  
 not accept  
 help from  
 the arch-  
 bishop.



one to be bishop but Lodin, but king Hacon spoke against it flatly. And out of this thing matters turned to the greatest strife between them. And things went so far that king Hacon appealed against the archbishop to the pope, and the archbishop was most angry at that. And after that king Magnus came between them, and others of their friends, and took part that they should make friends. Then Lodin too begged off being bishop when he knew the king's dislike to it. Then king Magnus brought that about that they, the king and the archbishop, met. There were then present king Magnus and the bishop of the Southern Isles, and Gilbert, who was then king Hacon's priest, and had been archdeacon in Shetland. King Hacon would have him made bishop of Hammar. And that meeting ended so that the archbishop chose Gilbert to be bishop, but Lodin gave it up for his part. But because the matter had been already handed over to the pope, they sent Gilbert out to the pope. Then the king and the archbishop wrote letters by him that this was the will of both. And after that he went abroad to see the pope.

303. In the summer after king Hacon fared into the land to the Frosta-Thing, and there settled the king's business. After that he set off south into the land, and king Magnus with him, and they came at autumn to Bergen, and there king Hacon sat the winter; but king Magnus fared south to Stavanger and sat there. That autumn they came from abroad from Iceland, Paul and Ivar; and told the king how their errand had sped. The king saw from their report that Gizur had not done anything more in backing the king's business as he had promised, or as the king had rewarded him for. King Hacon kept Yule in Bergen. And this was the forty-fifth winter of his reign. In the winter squire Sverrir took that sickness which brought him to his death, and the

A.D. 1260  
-1261.

He will  
not allow  
Lodin to  
be bishop,  
and gives  
the see to  
his chap-  
lain Gil-  
bert.

King  
Hacon  
goes to the  
Frosta-  
Thing, and  
thence to  
Bergen.

Paul and  
Ivar return  
from Ice-  
land.

Gizur has  
done little  
or nothing  
in the  
king's busi-  
ness.

Death of  
squire  
Sverrir.

A.D. 1260 king thought that the greatest loss, and many others  
-1261. also.

grand-  
child of  
king  
Hacon.

King Mag-  
nus woos  
Ingiborg,  
daughter of  
Eric and  
grandchild  
of the duke  
of Saxony.

The duke,  
when  
asked,  
takes little  
interest in  
the matter,  
but shows  
the mes-  
sengers his  
own  
daughters.

304. King Hacon and king Magnus had sent in the summer brother Nicholas south to Denmark to plead the suit of king Magnus to the lady Ingiborg, daughter of king Eric the saint. And brother Nicholas was to go south into Saxland to meet the duke, her mother's father, and know what he would say to this match, for he was the greatest prince and one of those seven men who were to chose the emperor, and he is to be the emperor's steward every time that he is north of the Alps. And when the messengers came to the duke, pleading their errand before him, he did not take much interest in it, but said that his grand-daughter was Danish by her father's side, and the Danes had to settle about her wedding. After that he let two of his daughters be brought into their sight very well dressed, and the duke said, "For these daughters of mine I have to settle when any one woos them." After that the messenger fared back into Denmark, and so to Norway to meet king Hacon and Magnus.

The king  
sends mes-  
sengers to  
Denmark  
to treat for  
the hand  
of the  
princess.

305. After the death of squire Sverrir they, king Hacon and king Magnus, went north into Sogn, and thence north over the Fille-fell and so to the Uplands. And when they came up on Heidmark on Ringsaker then archbishop Einar came to meet them and fared with them south into the Bay. They fared first to Tunsberg, and there met brother Nicholas. He told them how his errand had turned out. The king sent, as quickly as he could, Sira Askatin and brother Nicholas south to Denmark; they were to fare to find the queen and count Ernest and others of those men who had to answer for the princess, and know what the end would be of their suit. But while they were on this quest, the kings and the archbishop went east to the Elf, and looked to find earl Birgir. They lay

a while there in the Elf and waited for the earl. A.D. 1260  
 But the earl came not. Then they fared back into -1261.  
 the Bay, and sat in Tunsberg until Askatin came. The mes-  
 out of Denmark. Nicholas stayed behind there south. sengers  
 He told these words of the queen and count Ernest come back  
 and the princess, that the kings must send to from Den-  
 meet her an honourable company; but the queen mark with  
 promised, and the kindred of the princess,<sup>1</sup> to fit a favour-  
 her out worthily for her journey to the best of their able  
 power. answer.

306. After that the kings took steps to send to  
 meet the maiden. The leader was lord bishop Hacon,  
 Ogmund crowdance, and Borgar his son, Paul goose,  
 and Lodin stake. They had seven ships, and most of  
 them big. The bishop had a twenty-bencher, but Og-  
 mund a great dragon, and Paul goose another. They  
 had picked and well equipped men. And when they  
 were boun, they sailed south to Denmark, and came to  
 Hrossness [Horsens] in Jutland by the day which the  
 Danes had laid down for them. But that was half  
 a week before St. Olaf's wake. And when they came  
 there they found no man, neither on the queen's part  
 nor of the count's, who could give them any answer  
 as to their errand. After that they sent men up to  
 the cloister in which the maiden was, and bade them  
 ask if any steps had been taken for her journey to  
 Norway. She said this, that so far as she knew, no  
 steps at all had been taken about it. And after that  
 she sent her foot-page to the queen, and asks if she  
 would take any steps as to her journey. But the  
 queen gave that answer that she could not take any  
 steps about it so quickly, for the sake of that strife  
 which she had with the duke. Now the princess let  
 that be told to the Northmen. And when they knew  
 of the princess.

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<sup>1</sup> Fl. reads "But they promised to fit her out worthily on her way.  
 "After that they sent to meet the maiden."

A.D. 1261. that the queen would do nothing as to the journey of the princess nor those men who were bound to fit her out for her voyage to Norway, then bishop Henry and these men who were joined with him on the voyage, went up to the cloister, and saw the princess and spoke with her. They told her and besought her to lay her cause in God's power and that of the king of Norway, and take steps for herself, and do what God taught them to help her in doing. The princess spoke much against this at first, and most of all because she thought she could in no wise start so suddenly when she was so short of outfit. But they answered to that that they had everything ready for her which she needed to have. But the end of this talk was that bishop Hacon betrothed the princess Ingiborg to king Magnus on the king's behalf. After that they agreed on a day between them when the Northmen could come to fetch her, but the princess was to follow them to the ship, if no plan came before from the queen as to the journey of the princess. At that moment earl Birgir lay in Öre-sound with the Swedish host. And when he heard of the Northmen he sent word to bishop Hacon that they should wait for him, and he would meet them if he had leisure. But the Northmen nevertheless hastened on their voyage; for they knew that the earl had already asked for the princess on behalf of his son king Waldemar, and they would not go shares with him in this secret. And when the trysting day came the Northmen busked them to go on shore, and set men behind to watch the ships. The bishop and the captains of the Northmen and the picked men busked them with their arms as for battle; for fear was on them what course the Danes might take, when they knew that they had little force in a land so full of folk. But when they came to the cloister nothing had been done any more than before. They went in

It was at last agreed between the princess and bishop Hacon that she should be betrothed there and then to king Magnus, and that the Northmen should carry her off.

Earl Birgir wished to have the princess for his son, king Waldemar, but the Northmen and the princess keep their secret, and she is carried off to Tunsberg.



to see the princess. And they bade her keep her word and follow them to the ship. The princess kept her word in the best way on her part as she had promised. She got ready to go with them and two knights with her, and her pages, and some eight women. After that they then went to the ships. The prior of the cloister had little to say against it, for he was in great fear of the Northmen. But it was all done so suddenly that not a man of the Danes knew of it before the princess was on her way, and not even those knights that went with her. They had no clothes but those that they stood in. The Northmen pulled away quickly in their ships and sailed from Denmark so that they came near no land before they reached Tunsberg. But that was late on Olaf's wake eve that they got there.

307. After that bishop Hacon and his companions had fared to Denmark, but the kings were gone north and the archbishop, and when king Hacon had come to Bergen, there came from the west from Scotland messengers of king Alexander of Scotland; an archdeacon, and that knight whose name was Missel. They came more with fair words than with faith, so far as the king could see. They fare so away, that no man knew it before they had hoisted their sails. Then king Hacon sent Brynjolf John's son after them, and he brought them back with him. The king said that they should stay that winter in Norway, because they had gone away without leave-taking otherwise than other messengers.

King Hacon comes to Bergen.

King Alexander of Scotland sends messengers, who depart without leave-taking and are brought back.

308. Bishop Hacon sent men with letters to king Hacon, and told him all about the quest, and that too that the princess Ingiborg was come into Norway by God's grace and the king's. They said the reason why she was so short of followers was that they put no faith in the Danes to stay there until the princess could make ready for her journey as honourably as

Bishop Hacon reports his return.

A.D. 1261. she wished, and behoved her rank. "Naught good is  
 King " lacking to her in Denmark." This letter came to  
 Hacon is king Hacon in Bergen, and he was well pleased at  
 well the errand of bishop Hacon, if only the lady had set  
 pleased. out with him, and had fared from the south by her  
 own good will. King Hacon let them make ready  
 against their coming, the princess and the bishop.  
 Then he summoned to him all the best men who were  
 in the realm of Norway; first earl Canute and all the  
 bishops. But archbishop Einar was then in Bergen;  
 he had fared from the east in the summer in the ship  
 with king Magnus and in to Stavanger with him;  
 and they were together all the summer and kept both  
 one board. King Hacon sent men east to meet bishop  
 Hacon, that he should hasten as fast as he could on  
 his way; for king Magnus had chosen that they should  
 turn as quickly as they could to the wedding ceremony.  
 The princess and the bishop were slow in getting a  
 wind from the south, and lay there some three weeks  
 on their course. They came to Bergen some nights  
 before Lammas, and ran first into Laxavoe.

The bishop  
 and the  
 princess  
 come to  
 Bergen.  
 The kings  
 row out to  
 meet her.

King Hacon and king Magnus were there in the  
 town and they went at once to their ships, and the  
 archbishop and all the best men with them, and meant  
 to row to meet the princess. But the weather was  
 so sharp that they could in no wise row. But the  
 day after the kings rowed to meet the princess and  
 the archbishop and the suffragan bishops and all the  
 best men who were in the town. And when king  
 Hacon met the princess he greeted her well and all  
 her company. Then that counsel was taken that the  
 princess should not come into the king's house before  
 the bridal feast was ready. Then she fared up to  
 Michael's church, and bishop Hacon with her, and they  
 were there some seven nights. King Hacon said thus  
 when he came home and had seen the princess: "I had  
 " always meant to greet this princess well whenever

King  
 Hacon is  
 much  
 pleased

“ she might come to Norway ; but she seems to me to A.D. 1261.  
 “ have so much luck on her face that now I will in with her  
 “ every thing pay far more attention to her than I and also  
 “ had thought to do before.” King Hacon bade king king Mag-  
 nus, and  
 Magnus takes his choice whether he would rather fit the wed-  
 up that big boat-house where the feast was held when ding is  
 he was crowned, or whether he would let the feast held on  
 be in the king’s house, in those buildings which were the Sunday  
 after  
 there. King Magnus answers then that there were Lammas.  
 there such good halls in the king’s house which were  
 not built when the former feast was held, that they  
 could not find better quarters. After that the king  
 let three halls be fitted out in the king’s house, in  
 which he meant to hold the feast. They were fitted  
 with the greatest cost and with the best means which  
 were to be had.

309. The Sunday after Lammas day the princess The mar-  
 was espoused to the king with great honour. Then riage takes  
 king Magnus went to his wedding feast, and both place.  
 the kings and the archbishop, and all the suffragan  
 bishops, and earl Canute, and the liegemen and hench-  
 men, and the pick of the land were in the Stone-  
 hall. Lady Margaret the queen was in the wooden  
 hall and princess Ingiborg, and all her train, women  
 and monks, and many other good men. In the Yule-  
 hall were Ogmund crow-dance, Erling Alf’s son, the  
 chapmen, and outlandish men and the townsfolk.  
 And it was so said that there were no fewer than They hold  
 1,600 besides serving-men. This feast was served a great  
 with the greatest cost and the best things that were bridal feast,  
 to be had. And it is the saying of the wisest men and it is  
 that no such wedding feast has ever been held in settled that  
 Norway as this. King Hacon spoke thus, that in king Mag-  
 nus shall be  
 crowned.  
 that hall in which he held the feast himself every  
 one should choose what he would drink, for there  
 was no more lack of wine than of other drink.

A.D. 1261. September. King Hacon then had a talk with his friends and counsellors, and they spoke together whether Magnus should be consecrated under the crown or not. But then men spoke very differently. There were some who said that king Magnus would take pride with the crown, and would wish to have another court, and said there would be a likelihood of strife between the kings. But bishop Hacon, and those who had fared with the princess, said the king had given his word that they should both be crowned, and bade the king thoroughly to fulfil what he had promised to both of them as an honour. Many friends of king Magnus backed this. But still this only got so far at that time that men did not know what was to come of it. Then king Magnus went to king Hacon and himself pleaded his cause. "You need not, my lord, to believe these men's words who will tell you that I will take any pride against you, though ye make me more honour than any king in Norway hath done to his son; for you know yourself, my lord, that I have been yielding and soft to you in all things, and not less now that I am king than before, which is both to your honour and to mine. I ween that I shall still be so, though ye grant me that honour and rank which you have promised me." King Hacon answers: "True it is, king Magnus, that you have served us lovingly; it is also fair that I should grant you the greatest honour after that which comes foremost, God's will and His mercy."

King Magnus is crowned on Holy Cross day after the same fashion as king Hacon. 310. Holy Cross day was on Wednesday in that week. Then king Hacon let them make ready anew in the king's house, for he meant that same day king Magnus should be consecrated under the crown according as God had seen good. Then prayers were chanted early about the town. And when service



was over all the folk went out into the king's yard. A.D. 1261. Then all things were like the father's when king Hacon was crowned. Then the greatest part of the body-guard were clad in all their war-gear, so that they might go to the king's yard, and clear the way to Christ Church. First went the body-guard that cleared the way, then next those who bore the banners, next to them the stewards and trencher-pages; after that the liegemen. Then went four liegemen, and they bore a great board over their heads, and on it the king's robes and coronation clothes. Next to them came Erling Alf's son and Brynjolf John's son, and bore two royal sceptres of silver inlaid with gold. Next after came earl Canute, and bore the crown, and two marshals led him, for he was very sick. Alongside with him went Gaut John's son, and bore the coronation sword. Next to these were led the kings. At the yard gate in to the king's courtyard came to meet him bishops and abbots and clerks with a procession and began to chant, and so they went to church. Then the kings were led to the altar. After that mass was sung, and the consecration went as is ordained by holy church. The knight Missel, whom the king of Scotland had sent to king Hacon, stood up over the choir, and wondered much at the proceedings of the consecration; for it is not the custom in Scotland to crown the kings. He was so struck at the ceremony that he sobbed before those who stood by told him what it all meant. And when king Magnus was robed, and king Hacon, and those bishops beside girded him with the coronation sword, then that Scottish knight began to say, "It was told me there were no knights "dubbed in this land; but never saw I any knight "dubbed with equal honour, when five of the noblest "princes in this land gird him with the coronation

The order  
of the pro-  
cession.

The Scotch  
knight  
Missel is  
so moved  
that he  
sobs.

A.D. 1261. "sword." When king Magnus had to put on his royal robes the archbishop led him out to his seat. After that they crowned the queen. Then king Hacon went to the stool on which king Magnus sat. King Magnus wished to rise up to meet him. King Hacon put his hand on his shoulder, and said: "Thou shalt not rise up to meet me, kinsman," said he, "you shall hold yourself according to your rank and bow to no man this day. And now that day has come which I have so long prayed to see, that I see my flesh so much honoured as it is now this day. So far am I from grudging you this honour. But why I sought for counsel in this matter was that I wished to know what other men had to say; and they were the same who egged me on, and were against granting it, who did not do their best to mend matters between me and some of your kindred of old; for which may God forgive them." When the mass was over, the archbishop and the other bishops followed the king back to his lodging singing as before praise to God. Then the king put off his coronation clothes, and the archbishop yielded him all the service which is bound to follow on coronation. After that he put on all the royal robes and bore the crown that day. After that the kings went to table, and that day was the first banquet with great good cheer, to the joy and glory of king Magnus and the lady queen Ingiborg, and all their men. As Sturla sang:

King  
Hacon's  
speech to  
king  
Magnus.

There is a  
great ban-  
quet.

Sturla's  
verses.

Dread lord of kings in youth's high spring time  
The awful name of king thou tookest,  
At thy crowning widely famous;  
Well-known thy valour is to men.  
Full power since then thou hast gotten,  
King of speech so eloquent,  
All the people now obey thee.  
Here I sing the prince's glory.

And again he sung :

A.D. 1261.

Gallant king's son, thou hast wedded  
The daughter of a sainted king,  
God endows thee with abundance  
Of happiness in that blessed state.  
Prayers of Eric brave and holy  
Can prevail in all with God,  
Thus thy increase still increases  
Just as in our hearts we wish.

Sturla's  
verses.

At this feast the king gave many worthy gifts, first to the archbishop and the other lords. King Magnus gave all his followers gifts, and many others besides. But after the banquet he had all the Danish men at his table, who had followed queen Ingiborg from the south, and sent them off well and like a prince with gifts. They fared after that south to Denmark, and were well pleased with their visit. But behind with the queen stayed those women whom she liked, and her pages.

311. Earl Canute was very sick during the banquet, as was before said. And a little after he took to his bed, and lay very long that autumn and died of this sickness. King Hacon made him a splendid funeral, as belonged to his birth and rank. Earl Canute was buried in Christ Church, by his father Hacon. Earl Canute was the most courteous of men in all things; a good clerk, and the most open-handed man with his money; a tall man in growth, and fair of face; too great a man for drink, and of that he took his failing health.

That autumn they came from abroad from Greenland, Odd of Sjoltir, Paul Magnus's son, and Galley-Leif. They had been abroad four winters. They brought word from Greenland that they had accepted the scatt-tax, and also that all manslayings should be atoned for to the king, whether the slain were men from Norway or Greenland; and so too whether they

The  
Danish  
attendants  
return  
home  
after the  
feast.

Earl  
Canute  
gets worse  
and dies.

Messen-  
gers from  
Greenland  
bring word  
that they  
would  
pay the  
scatt and  
atone for  
murders

A.D. 1262. were slain in the inhabited land or in the north to the country. This was to hold too though men set up king. their abode to the farthest north under the pole star; there too the king had the right to claim the thane-fine for them. As Sturla sung:

Sturla's  
verses.

North it pleaseth thee to stretch  
Thy hand upon the frozen world,  
Under the lode-star far away ;  
Polar men will joy therefore,  
No other lord but thou hast ever  
Held sway amidst those regions icy ;  
Now people sing thy praises farther  
Than ever shines the glorious sun.

King  
Hacon  
sends Hal-  
vard gold-  
shoe to  
Iceland to  
look after  
earl Gizur.

That summer of which we are now speaking king Hacon sent to Iceland Halvard gold-shoe, to back his business with the land folk and the earl, that he should fulfil his agreement as he had promised to the king. Halvard landed in White-water in Borgar firth, and went straight to meet the earl, and backed the king's business boldly before him. The earl took it well, and said that great pains should be taken to do as the king had sent word. Halvard went to stay at Reykjaholt. He and the earl met in the autumn, according as they had agreed before, and then some freemen swore oaths of fealty to the king; and some of them were those who had before been very much against it. The earl sat in the winter in the north of the land, and then had talk with the freemen what counsel they should take as to those claims which he knew the king's men had brought, and which he had promised to the king. Then the whole truth came out as to what he had agreed with the king. Then that counsel was taken that the freemen promised the earl much goods if he would redeem that tax which was claimed. Some of the freemen promised two hundred, some one hundred, some twelve öre or ten; some much less. But when Halvard heard that he said

Then  
Gizur had  
to tell the  
freemen  
the whole  
truth as to  
what he  
had pro-  
mised to  
the king.



that the king did not wish that the freemen should be tormented to pay such great sums, he said that the king would have homage from the freemen, and such a scatt from the land as would put them to no straits to pay; and in return for that he promised protection and amendment of the law. Halvard backed the king's business also with the Westfirthers, and so it came that all agreed to come to Thorsness Thing in the spring, and swear there that the land and its inhabitants should belong to king Hacon. Then this was written north to the earl, and all those burdens were refused which he had before agreed with the freemen there in the north. But when the earl was ware of this, then he summoned the freemen to Hegranness Thing, and let some swear to the king the land and its inhabitants. But Hrafn Odds son did not come to Thorsness Thing, and for that Halvard did not go thither. Then this matter was adjourned to the Althing. All the greatest men in the Westfirths drew together in a great band when the meeting at the Thing drew near. They sent too men to see the sons of Steinvor, and the sons of Andrew to tell them to ride to the Thing with all their force from the east of Thjorsa. Thorvard Thorarin's son had also promised to come with the Eastfirthers. Earl Gizur too came to the Thing with a great force. Then Halvard came from the west and said that bands had drawn together to the west of the heath, and all had promised to agree to the scatt and the king's business, and meant to ride to the Thing and there back the king's errand if it could not be carried otherwise. And when the earl heard that he held a talk and took counsel with his friends. But when that talk was over, the earl backed the king's business both with the Northerners and the Southerners, and begged them to agree to it with good words, and called it treason towards him if they did not accept

A.D. 1262.

Halvard says the king only wished for a moderate skatt, which would fall heavy on no man. He also required homage and in return he promised protection and amendment of the law.

After many meetings these terms were accepted by the freemen of three of the four quarters of the island.

A.D. 1262. it. That was easiest to back with the Northerners. After that the Court of Laws was held; and most of the best men out of the Northerners' quarter took the oath, and of the Southerners those east of Thjorsa, and gave over the land and its lords and an everlasting skatt to king Hacon, on such terms as those letters bear witness which were written afterwards. After that the earl rode from the Thing and south into Laugar-dale, and kept his band together there for awhile. Bishop Sigurd and Halvard rode west to Borgarfirth, and met the Westfirthers at Thvera Thing. Then the Westfirthers accepted the like oaths as the others. First the leaders swore, Hrafn, Sighvat Bödvar's son, Sturla Thord's son, Einar Thorvalds son, and Vigfuss Gunstein's son, and three freemen with each of them. Three freemen also swore for the Borgfirthers. After this meeting all the Icelanders out of three quarters had agreed to pay scatt to king Hacon; except the Southerners to the east of Thjorsa and the Eastfirthers.<sup>1</sup>

Arch-  
bishop  
Einar at  
Stavanger  
with king  
Magnus.  
The arch-  
bishop's  
speech to  
the king.  
The two  
kings  
together  
at Yule in  
Bergen.  
Early in  
the spring  
they go  
east to  
meet earl  
Birgir and

312. The next winter after that king Magnus kept his wedding and was crowned, king Hacon sat in Bergen; but king Magnus fared in the autumn south to Stavanger. Archbishop Einar led king Magnus to his ship, and spoke thus: "It has ever seemed to me  
" hard to part from you, except now; for it glads  
" me that I have yielded you all the service that I  
" can to do you honour. First I gave you the title  
" of king; next I espoused you to the queen; after  
" that I consecrated you under the crown and the  
" queen as well. There is now one thing left, which  
" may God not let it be my fate to do, that is to  
" stand over thy grave." King Magnus thanked the  
archbishop both for his speech and services. King

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<sup>1</sup> Fl. reads "except the Eastfirthers from Helkunda-beath, and to  
" Thjorsa in the Southerner's quarter."

Magnus stayed in Stavanger a while. He went back north before Yule, and he and king Hacon were both together over Yule in Bergen. This was the forty-fifth winter of the reign of king Hacon. Early in the spring the kings set out on a voyage east to the Bay, and meant to go as far east as the Elf to meet earl Birgir, according to messages which had already passed between them; and there they were to consult about the estates which the daughter of king Eric owned in Denmark; for they had claims there, both king Magnus and Waldemar the Swede king. He had then taken to wife Sophia, a daughter of king Eric, the sister of queen Ingiborg. When the kings sailed out of Bergen the lady Margaret the queen stayed behind and queen Ingiborg; for she was then with child. The kings sailed east to the Bay. And when they came to Tunsberg, they found there messengers from earl Birgir, who said that the earl thought he could not meet the kings, because of the press of business which he had to see to. But he gave that advice as to those estates which the queens owned in Denmark, that they should both send men to see queen Margaret, and know what property she would hand over; and that afterwards that property should be shared when it was known what each of these sisters owned, queen Ingiborg and Sophia, or those two who were unmarried.

313. King Hacon and king Magnus took that counsel in this matter, that they sent men south to Denmark, Paul goose, Andrew clubfoot, and Thorlaug the hot; and they were to look after this sharing on behalf of king Magnus and the lady queen Ingiborg. And when they came to Denmark they found there duke Adalbrecht of Brunswick, and he had it all his own way with the queen. Paul and his companions stayed that summer with the duke, and got no answer as to

A.D. 1262.  
to consult  
about  
queen  
Ingiborg's  
and her  
sister's  
property  
in Den-  
mark.  
When they  
come to  
Tunsberg  
they found  
messengers  
from the  
earl to say  
that press  
of the  
business  
hindered  
him, but  
he advised  
sending to  
queen  
Margaret  
in Den-  
mark to  
find out  
what pro-  
perty all  
the daugh-  
ters owned.

Messen-  
gers are  
sent, but  
get no  
answer.

A.D. 1262. their errand. King Hacon fared from Tunsberg up the firth to Oslo; but king Magnus went east to Borg to look after those fiefs which king Hacon had granted to the lady Ingiborg on her wedding with king Magnus. On this journey king Magnus fell sick; it came most, of that, that he had ridden hard to Borg, and down the country back. And when he came down to the ship he was very sick and for that he turned in to Oslo, because he would be with the king if the sickness pressed him hard. And when he got there he felt a little better. Then he went up to the church, and the bishop made a procession to meet him. From that time forth he got better, but still he was very ill that spring. When King Hacon had ended his business in the Bay, they both sailed north to Bergen, and came north about the Wake-tide, and stayed there that summer. That same summer king Hacon sent them out of the land, Lodin lock and Hacon the bold. They fared out to the Soldan of Tunis with many falcons, and those other things which were there hard to get. And when they got out the Soldan received them well, and they stayed there long that winter. As Sturla sung:—

King  
Magnus  
falls ill,  
but re-  
covers.

King  
Hacon  
sends  
hawks to  
the Soldan  
of Tunis.

Sturla's  
verses.

Prince, the Saracens thee worship  
All along the Black-man's coast,  
For thy store of gracious guerdon;  
The people there adore thy hawks.  
O gatherer of many praises,  
Costly gifts fall far and wide,  
Without stint from thy good pleasure,  
Thy precious boons grace all the world.

Halvard  
gold-shoe  
returns  
from Ice-  
land with  
tidings  
that the  
Icelanders  
had sworn

That summer came from abroad from Iceland Halvard gold-shoe, and had to tell those tidings that the Icelanders had sworn to pay scatt to king Hacon. Then also came from Iceland with him Sighvat Bödvar's son, and Sturla the son of Hrafn Odd's son. Then also came from Iceland abbot



Brand John's son at the message of archbishop Einar, A.D. 1262. and he went north to Drontheim and found the archbishop there. The messengers of king Hacon were in Denmark with the duke of Brunswick; and they thought they saw that the duke kept them waiting, and that nothing was done in their business. Then they took that counsel that Thorlaug the hot went to seek king Hacon; but they stayed behind, Paul goose and Andrew. Thorlaug found king Hacon in Bergen. That summer was born in Bergen Olaf son of king Magnus and queen Ingiborg. But in the autumn the kings busked them north to Drontheim and the queens with them, but squire Olaf stayed behind at Nunsetr. But when they came north to Nidaros, the archbishop made a fair procession to meet them. The archbishop greeted them very well. That winter the king sat in Drontheim. Andrew club-foot came from the south in the winter before Yule from Denmark, and met the kings in Drontheim; he said that the queen and the duke had put none of the property of queen Ingiborg into their hands; and that no sharing had been made between the daughters of king Eric; but they knew how great the property was and whéré it lay.

to pay  
scatt to  
king  
Hacon.  
The mes-  
sengers to  
Denmark  
still get no  
answer.

The two  
kings  
spend  
the winter  
in Dron-  
heim on  
good  
terms with  
the arch-  
bishop.  
They hear  
from Den-  
mark that  
the queen  
and duke  
had parted  
with none  
of the  
property  
of the  
princess.

King Hacon sat Yule over in Drontheim, and had a great company and outgoings. Abbot Brand was with the king at Yule, and the kings were very good to him. Archbishop Einar was sick that winter, and for that he went little to see the kings; but still they spoke together some times, and all things passed well between them. King Magnus brought about friendship between them, for there was great kindness between king Magnus and the archbishop.

314. The summer before had come letters from the west from the Southern Isles from the king there, and they made much stir about that strife

News  
from the  
Southern  
Isles that

A.D. 1262. which the earl of Ross and Kjarnak Machamal's son. the Scots and other Scots had made in the Southern Isles had made many when they fared out into Skye, and burned farms burnings and churches, and slew a host of men and women. and murders there. And they said this that the Scots had taken small bairns and spitted them on their spear-points, and shaken them till they fell down on their hands, and cast them dead from off them.<sup>1</sup> They repeated too, many big words of the king of Scots, and said that he meant of a surety to lay under him all the Southern Isles if life were granted him. And when these tidings came to king Hacon they touched him with great care; he brought these matters before his friends and counsellors. But whatever any man might say about it, king Hacon there and then let letters of summons be sent round all Norway after Yule, and called out the levies both of men and stores, as he thought the land could best bear it; he summoned all the host to meet him early in the summer at Bergen.

King Hacon calls out the levies for Bergen next summer. Yule 1262-3. Archbishop Einar consecrates Gilbert to be bishop at Hammar and Brand to be bishop at Holar.

315. Archbishop Einar had a talk with the canons in Christ Church at Lent in the spring, and he spoke of the election of a bishop in Iceland; they agreed together to choose abbot Brand for bishop; and that same day was he chosen by the archbishop and the canons with the leave of king Hacon and king Magnus. Then had also come from abroad from the *curia* Sira Gilbert and those men who had fared with him. They brought these words of the pope with letters that he gave over the choice of a bishop in Hammar to the archbishop's power; and yet in such wise that he should choose none other than Gilbert according as the king's will was. The fourth day of the Nones of March month archbishop Einar consecrated them both to be bishops, Gilbert to Ham-

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<sup>1</sup> Fl. "and let small-bairns sprawl on their spear-points."

mar, and Brand to Holar in Iceland. There were A.D. 1262-1263.  
there present Peter bishop of Bergen, and Thorgils  
bishop of Stavanger.

316. King Hacon set out from Nidaros near mid- A.D. 1263.  
Lent out to Orkadale and so south to the Fell, and King  
the upper road east to the Bay and out to Oslo; Hacon  
thence to Tunsberg, and so east to the Elf, according fares from  
as messages had passed between him and Earl Birgir, Drontheim  
that they should meet at Ljodhouse in Easter week, across the  
But when king Hacon came to Ljodhouse then the earl fells to  
was gone away; and naught came of their meeting. Oslo and  
King Hacon fared north into the Bay, and had there the Bay to  
a great levy from the east out of the land. King meet earl  
Magnus fared from Drontheim a little later than Birgir  
king Hacon, and had that ship which king Hacon had at Ljod-  
had the autumn before. With him fared both the house.  
queens; and they were slow in getting a wind. He  
had mass on Easter day in Frekey-sound, and sailed  
that day south to the Herisles. King Magnus came King  
after Easter south to Bergen, and stayed there a little Magnus  
while ere he fared south to Stavanger. When king fares to  
Hacon had ended his business in the Bay, he fared Stavanger  
north along the land and came on Cross Mass day to to his fief  
Bergen. He stayed there that spring, and pressed on to look up  
his outfit as speedily as he could. As soon as king the levies,  
Magnus had ended his business and taken counsel for and after-  
all the outfitting in Rygja-fylki, then he fared north wards  
to meet king Hacon his father. After that force was meets his  
gathered day by day to the town, both liegemen and father at  
stewards and most of the king's vassals in the land, Bergen.  
and a great company of men serving on the levies.  
Thus a great host came together to Bergen.

317. When the outfit of king Hacon was very far Lent.  
on he held a public Thing at Bergen up on the Banks, King  
A very great host were gathered together there. Then Hacon fits  
king Hacon gave it out as to his expedition, that he out his  
meant to sail west across the sea with all that host fleet for  
Scotland.

A.D. 1263. to Scotland to avenge that strife which the Scots had made on his realm. He also gave it out that king Magnus offered to go on this voyage, but that he was to be behind. He thanked him for that with many fair and loving words. But still he said this that as he was older, and had long had knowledge out of the Western lands, and had got to know all about them how things stood there, that therefore he wished to go himself on this voyage. But still he gave all the care of the land into king Magnus' hands. At that Thing he settled many other things which belonged both to the land and to those who were to fare with him. Then he gave this boon also to the freemen that the stewards should pursue no suits while he was away, save those that were greatest and which could not bear waiting. He also gave leave to go home to much folk from the east of the land; because he thought that proper for the sake of guarding the border. For this voyage king Hacon had fitted out that big ship which he had made them build in Bergen, and which he had designed for his own crossing-ship. It had thirty-seven benches and was big besides, and built of oak alone. That ship was made with a splendid Dragon head, all plated with gold; and so too were the beaks fitted in the same fashion. Many other great ships had king Hacon with him on this voyage, and well fitted. In the spring king Hacon had sent west across the sea John Longlif's son and with him Henry Scot, and king Magnus got them a ship and men to Shetland; and they were sent thither to find pilots. But John and his companions fared to the Orkneys, and found king Dougal in the Orkneys, and told him that the host was to be looked for from the east. But that rumour was going about that the Scots would harry the Isles in the summer. But king Dougal then gave it out that forty ships had come from the east from Norway. And with that the Scots held back,

King  
Hacon is  
to leave  
king  
Magnus  
behind  
to guard  
and govern  
the land.

Big ships  
are built  
and a  
ship is  
sent to the  
Orkneys to  
find pilots.



318. Some time before the king was ready to sail A.D. 1263. he sent eight ships west before him. These were the captains Rognvald ork, Erling Ivar's son, Andrew Nicholas' son, Halvard the red, and others more. They lay a while out in the offing and got no fair wind. When king Hacon had fitted out his ship he rowed out of the town, and most part of the fleet with him. The king rowed to Eidsvoe, and afterwards he went back into the town and stayed there some nights and went out afterwards to his ship, and sailed out into Herdla-ver. Thither all the host was gathered together, both from north and east of the land and that was a very great host. As is said in Raven's Song which Sturla made:

Eight ships with trusty captains are sent across in advance.

Levies from Finmark  
Flocked fast to the king,  
Stirrer of spear-storms,  
Hacon the great.  
The billows of Ocean  
That girdle the earth,  
All east of the Glommen  
Bore on the proud fleet.

Sturla's  
Raven  
Song.

And again:

Never gold hater<sup>1</sup>  
Saw more on one spot  
Sturdy spear-throwers  
To stand by their lord.  
That fountain of honour  
Shut out the sea-shore  
With shield-fence of ships,  
And an army of men.

Sturla's  
Raven  
Song.

King Hacon lay with the whole host in Herdla-ver. It was a very great and picked force. The king had many great ships and well fitted as is here said:

King  
Hacon at  
Herdlaver.

On Gestils fleet coursers<sup>2</sup>  
That scoured the main

Sturla's  
Raven  
Song.

<sup>1</sup> King.

| <sup>2</sup> Ships.

A.D. 1263.

Flashed gleams of sea-fire,<sup>1</sup>  
 That slave of the king.  
 The sides of his galleys  
 Bore shields bright as suns,  
 Both wave-wont and sail-wont  
 Were ships of that king.

The eight  
 ships sent  
 on in ad-  
 vance part  
 company.

Some nights later than king Hacon came to Herd-  
 laver, they sailed away from the offing, Rognvald and  
 Erling with those ships which they had, and they  
 parted company at sea. And Rognvald came to the  
 Orkneys with some ships, but Erling and Andrew and  
 Halvard the red sailed south of Shetland, and after-  
 wards west off Barrey firth (Burra firth), and saw no  
 land sooner than Sulna-skerry west of the Orkneys.  
 After that they sailed in under Scotland, and came off  
 Deerness, and landed there and stormed a castle that  
 was there, but the men that were there fled away.  
 After that they burnt more than twenty homesteads.  
 And then they sailed into the Southern Isles, and  
 found there Magnus king of Man.

King  
 Hacon sets  
 sail for  
 Scotland.

Three nights before the eve of the Seljamen king  
 Hacon sailed into the Solund main with the whole  
 host. He had then been king of Norway forty and  
 six winters. There was then a very fine breeze and  
 fair weather. The fleet was very glistening to look  
 on. As is here said:

Sturla's  
 Raven  
 Song.

Valkyrie lanterns,<sup>2</sup>  
 To bulwarks made fast,  
 Smote the bright heavens  
 With gleam of red gold;  
 The host of the king  
 As it skimmed o'er the main  
 Was like unto lightning  
 That springs from the sea.

King  
 Hacon's  
 crew.

King Hacon had a very picked crew on board his  
 ship. There were in the after-cabin: Thorleif abbot of

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<sup>1</sup> Gold.

| <sup>2</sup> Shields.

Holm, sira Askatin, four priests, and other clerks of A.D. 1263. the king. These laymen: Aslak gush the king's marshal, Andrew of Thissis-isle, Andrew Havard's son, Guthorm Gilli's son, and his brother Thorstein, Eric shot Gaul's son, and others more. These were in the waist: Aslak Dag's son, Steinar tough, Clement the long, Andrew mocker, Eric the father of king Dougal, Einar Lombard, Arnbjorn stifler, Sigbert Bodvar's son, Hoskuld Odd's son, John easy, and Arni skilful. In the third berth were: Sigurd son of Ivar tail, Helgi son of Ivar of Loflo, Erlend blackleg, Dag of Sudrheim, Brynjolf John's son, Gudleik snack, and some more men of the king's lodging. Andrew clubfoot was the king's treasurer. These were in the stem: Eric quarrelsome, Thorfinn Sigvald's son, Kari Eindrid's son, Gudmund John's son, and other some of the king's pages. At most there were four men in half a berth. Along with king Hacon sailed from Bergen earl Magnus of the Orkneys; and the king gave him a good long-ship. These liegemen fared with king Hacon: Brynjolf John's son, Finn Gaut's son, Erling Alf's son, Erlend the red, Bard of Hestby, Eilif of Naustdale, Andrew pot, and Ogmund crow-dance. These were before the mast: Rognvald orc, Erling Ivar's son . . .<sup>1</sup> John queen stayed behind in Bergen, and still more captains, for they were not ready. Gaut of Mel and Nicholas of Gizki stayed behind with king Magnus. There were many other famous captains of ships with king Hacon, who will be spoken of further on. King Hacon got a steady breeze, and was two nights on the sea; and made Shetland with a great part of the host at the place called Bressey-sound. As Sturla sung:—

With well-walled hulls  
The land-lord smote,  
Blue rolling seas  
In currents curling

How they  
were  
berthed.

King  
Hacon  
comes to  
Shetland;  
in two  
nights  
and runs  
into Bres-  
sey-sound.  
Sturla's  
verses.

<sup>1</sup> Something is wanting here; see the beginning of Ch. 318.

A.D. 1263.      All a-glow with red sea-fire<sup>1</sup>  
 The haven clear was lighted up  
 From the towering stems  
 As the fleet to Shetland came.

King  
 Hacon  
 comes to  
 the Ork-  
 neys.

King Hacon lay in Bressey sound near half a month, and sailed thence to the Orkneys, and lay awhile in Ellidar-wick, that is near Kirkwall. There king Hacon had a conference with his council, and gave it out to them that he wished to part the host, and send some south to the Moray Firth to harry there. But he himself would bide in the Orkneys with the big ships and the greatest part of the host. But the freemen and the levy-folk spoke right out against that, and said they would go nowhither unless with the king himself. And so this expedition came to naught. The eve of St. Olaf was on a Sunday, and king Hacon let mass be sung solemnly in his land tent, and next day feasted the common sailors on board his ship.

The levies  
 refuse to  
 go to the  
 east coast  
 of Scot-  
 land with-  
 out the  
 king.

King Ha-  
 con in  
 Rogn-  
 vald's-voe.

After Olafs-wake king Hacon sailed out of Ellidar-wick south of the Mull off Rognvaldsey with the whole host. Rognvald had then come from off the sea to the Orkneys with the ships which had followed him. King Hacon ran with the host into Rognvald's-voe, and lay there awhile. Then he sends men over to Caithness and laid a fine on them; but promised them peace in return if they submitted to him, else they would have to undergo hard terms. The men of Caithness agreed to the fine. And king Hacon sent men there to receive it. As is here said:

Sturla's  
 verses.

First for life-ransom  
 Took from Ness-dwellers  
 That wise king of Northland  
 A tribute for peace.  
 All Scottish subjects  
 Shivered in awe  
 At sight of that warrior  
 Mail-clad 'neath his helm.

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<sup>1</sup> Gold.



When king Hacon lay in Rognvaldsvoe a great A.D. 1263. darkness came over the sun, so that a little ring was An eclipse of the sun bright round it on the outside, and that lasted a in Rognvaldsvoe. while of the day.<sup>1</sup> King Hacon had heard bad tidings August 5th. out of the Southern Isles; for John Longlit's son had Bad news from the Southern Isles. come to the king in Shetland, when the king had sailed west, and told these tidings that John, king in the Southern Isles, must have changed his allegiance and turned him to the king of Scots. But king Hacon would not believe that before he had proved it. On St. Lawrence's day king Hacon sailed out of Rognvaldsvoe over the Pentland firth. He bade the Orkneyingers sail after him as soon as they were "boun." Earl Magnus also stayed behind. He had More ships then heard that they were then come into the Isles, join him from Norway. John queen and Kolbein Aslak's son, and those ships which were looked for from the east and had stayed behind. King Hacon sailed on St. Lawrence day past Cape Wrath with all his host and ran into that haven which is called Asleifs-wick, and thence to King Lewes. After that they sailed to Rona, and thence Hacon in into the sound of Skye, and lay there at a place Skye. called Carlinestone.<sup>2</sup> There came to him king Magnus out of Man, and those brothers-in-law, Erling Ivar's son and Andrew Nicholas' son and Halvard and Nicholas tart. They all sailed together with John queen and had parted on the sea. Nicholas had made no land anywhere before the Lewes after he sailed from Norway. That day on which king Hacon sailed out of the Sound of Skye king Dougal came to him in a light cutter and begged king Hacon to hasten after him as he most could. The king sailed thence into the Sound King Hacon in of Mull, and thence under Kerrera, and there all the the Sound

<sup>1</sup> Fl. "and it lasted thus some while of the day."

<sup>2</sup> Now Cailleach stone, where the Gaelic "cailleach" has replaced the Norse "Karling."

A.D. 1263. host gathered together and both king Dougal and the of Mull and at Kerrera, where the whole host gathered, one hundred and twenty ships in all. South Islanders. Then king Hacon had more than one hundred and twenty ships and most of them great, and all in good trim both as to men and weapons.

King Hacon sends fifty ships to Tarbert in Cantire to harry the Scots. 320. When king Hacon lay in Kerrera, he parted the host, and he sent fifty ships south to Tarbert in Cantire to harry them. These were at their head—king Dougal, king Magnus of Man, Brynjolf John's son, Rognvald ore, Andrew pot, Ogmund crowdance and Vigleik priest's son. Fifteen ships he sent off to Bute. The leaders were—Erlend the red, Andrew Nicholas' son, Simon short, Ivar the young, and Eyfari and Guttorm, South-islanders, each on his own ship. After that king Hacon sailed south, and lay at a place called Gudey (Gigha) off Cantire. There king John came to him. He went on board bishop Thor-gil's ship. King Hacon bade him follow him according as he was bound to do. But king John begged himself off, and said he had sworn an oath to the king of Scots, and held a greater realm from him than from the king of Norway. And he begged king Hacon to take steps to fill that rule which he had given him. King Hacon kept him with him for a while, and meant to soften his heart to allegiance to him. Many did him a bad turn in his business.

King Hacon at Gigha.

King John of the southern isles gives up his allegiance and turns to king Alexander.

The king is about to harry Cantire.

But when king Hacon lay at Gudey there came to him an abbot from a Gray-monk's cloister, and begged for peace for his house and for a safeguard for Holy Church. And the king granted that to him, and gave him letters for it. Then came men from king Dougal and said that Margad and Angus of Cantire would give up those lands which they held, and would yield the king their following. But the king gave that answer that he would not harry there, if they came into his power the day after before high noon. "But " if they are not come then I let my men land and

"harry." With this the messengers went back. But the king then made ready his men to land, so that they should go ashore in two bodies. But the morning after Margad came into the king's power and laid all he owned into his keeping. A little after came Angus, and gave his case into the king's power. King Hacon gave his word to both of them to get them an atonement with the king of Scots if the kings came to an understanding. Then they gave hostages to king Hacon, and swore oaths. Then king Hacon sent letters to his men who had been told off to harry the Ness that they should stay their warfare; and laid a fine on the Ness ten hundred neat, besides that which had been already carried off. Angus and the king came to terms on the understanding that he gave up the island of Islay into the king's power, but the king resettled the island to him on the same terms as the lords of the Southern Islands had before held it of him. As is said in the Ravens Song:

But Margad and Angus of Cantire come into the king's hand, and the warfare in Cantire is stayed.

The ready-tongued speaker  
Of Ringarick's freemen  
Turned his ships on the sea-path  
Towards Sodor and Man;  
To the serpent's treasure spoiler,  
To Hacon squanderer of gold,  
Angus gave up Ilay island  
As plunder to the warlike king.

Sturla's  
verses.

And again he says:

Terror went forth from the steerer of brine-deer<sup>2</sup>  
All over the wave-washed shores of the West,  
What time those outlawed chieftains unruly  
Brought to king Hacon, the queller of robbers,  
Their helmeted heads, as a token of peace,  
Bowing before him and doing him homage.

Sturla's  
verses.

On the south side of Cantire is a castle, and in it sat a knight. He went to see king Hacon, and gave

<sup>1</sup> King.

|    <sup>2</sup> Ships.

A.D. 1263. the castle into his power. The king sent men thither to take the castle as it was. But king Hacon set over the castle Guthorm bank-club, and gave him men along with him. Brother Simon had lain sick for a while; and when king Hacon lay at Gudey brother Simon died; and his body was borne on shore at Cantire, and those gray monks took his body and buried it in their church, and spread over his tomb carpets and called him a saint.

Brother  
Simon dies,  
and is  
buried in  
Cantire.

What  
Hacon's  
men did at  
the Tarbet  
of Cantire.

321. Now it is to be told of that part of the host which the king had sent to the Tarbet of Cantire to harry, that they landed there and burned those homesteads that they found, and took such fee as they could lay hands on; they slew also some men. But all the folk fled away with all that they could carry off. They (king Hacon's men) had much hard travel and great trouble. But when they came into the main-farms and both fee and men were before them, there came to them king Hacon's letters and forbade them to harry thenceforth, and that liked them very ill. Yet they fared to their ships with the war-spoil they had got, and sailed thence out under Gudey, and found king Hacon there. As is here said:

Brave warriors of the treasure-keeper  
Marched from the South across Cantire;  
The lovers of the sword-storm sated  
On Scotland's soil the birds of Odin,  
Black-clad ravens fiercely swooping  
Upon the corpses of the slain.

King  
Hacon  
takes pos-  
session of  
Bute.

King Hacon was late in getting a fair wind from Gudey. Then he sent south some light ships and Andrew pot was with them. They were to fare to Bute to meet those who had been sent thither. But when they came thither the tidings were that they had made an onslaught on a certain castle and won it on these terms, that they who held it gave up the castle and took peace from the Northmen. There



was also with the Northmen a ship-captain whose name was Rudri; he was thought to have a claim by birth to Bute. Yet because he did not get the island from the Scots, he made great strife on them, and slew many a man, and for that he was an outlaw of the Scottish king. He came to king Hacon in the Southern Isles, and swore oaths to him, and became his man, and his two brothers with him. But as soon as they who had given up the castle had parted from the Northmen, then Rudri fared after them and slew of them some nine men, for he thought that he had promised them no peace. After that the island came under king Hacon. As is here said:

The dauntless henchmen of the king,  
The man of war so worshipful,  
Broad Bute conquered for their lord  
From the God-detested race.  
The soaring raven thrust his sword  
His cloven beak in Southern Isles,  
Into the bodies of the fallen;  
So fell king Hacon's enemies.

Sturla's  
verses on  
the con-  
quest of  
Bute.

All those Northmen together who were then in Bute fared up into Scotland, and burned some thorpes and some homesteads. Then Rudri fared far and wide with manslayings and robberies and did all the harm that he could. As is here said:

Abodes of false franklins were harried and burnt,  
Hot indeed raged the hall-crusher  
On Scotland's west coast  
Warriors fell death-doomed in fight  
Before the champions of the king  
South in the wasted Isle of Skye.

Sturla's  
verses.

322. When king Hacon came into the Southern Isles, there came these messages to him from Ireland that the Irishmen offered to come into his power; and said they needed much that he should free them from that thralldom which the English had laid on

Messen-  
gers come  
to king  
Hacon in  
the South-  
ern Isles  
from Irish.

A.D. 1263, them, for that they held then all the best towns  
 August along the sea. But when king Hacon lay at Gudey  
 and Sep- he sent men out to Ireland in a light cutter, and  
 tember. that man with them who was called Sigurd the  
 men, pray- South-islander. They were to find out in what way  
 ing for help the Irish invited him to come thither.  
 against the English.

King After that king Hacon sailed out of Gudey south  
 Hacon in off the Mull of Cantire, with all the host that was  
 the sound then with him, and ran in at Arran. Next of all he  
 of Arran. lay in the sound of Arran between it and Lamlash.  
 Just about that time came messengers of the king of  
 Scots to king Hacon, Preachers, or Barefooted brothers,  
 and tried to make peace between the kings. Then  
 king Hacon let loose king John, and bade him fare  
 in peace from him whither-soever he would; and  
 gave him many good gifts. King John gave his  
 word to do all he could to bring about peace between  
 him and the king of Scots, and to come to see king  
 Hacon if he sent him word.

He sets  
 king John  
 free.

King From these parleys and proposals for peace which  
 Hacon the messengers of the king of Scots had with king  
 sends mes- Hacon, then king Hacon took that counsel that he  
 sengers to sent messengers to the king of Scots. There were at  
 the king of their head the bishops Gilbert of Hammar, and  
 Scots with Henry of the Orkneys, and Andrew Nicholas son and  
 proposals Andrew clubfoot, and Paul sour. They found the king  
 for peace. of Scots in the market town Novar (New Ayr) and the  
 king of Scots received them pretty well. But when  
 they talked of peace the king gave it out that it was  
 likely he might make peace. But said that he would  
 make up his mind, and then send men to the king of  
 Norway with those offers which seemed good to him  
 and his council. After that the messengers fared  
 away, but the king of Scots' men a night later.  
 And when they found king Hacon there was a talk  
 about peace. King Hacon had let all the isles be  
 enrolled to the west of Scotland which he claimed as

his own; but the king of Scots had named those which he would not give up, and that was Bute and Arran and the Cumraes. But about other matters there was very little difference between the king's terms, but yet the peace could not be brought about. Then the Scots took that counsel that they spun out matters more and more, and turned that way that no peace should be made at all; for the summer was then passing away, and the weather took to getting worse. With this they fared back to the king of Scots.

A.D. 1263,  
August  
and Sep-  
tember.

The Scots  
spin out  
matters  
and the  
weather  
gets worse.

After that king Hacon sailed in under the Cumraes with his whole host. There were then still intercessions, and the Scots always said that there was likelihood of peace. Then there was another meeting fixed up in Scotland. King Hacon sent to this meeting bishops and clerks and liegemen; but there came there to meet them some knights and monks. Then they talked much about peace, but in the end it all fell to the ground as before. And when the day wore on the Northmen thought the Scots were dealing faithlessly, for they were then getting together many men from up the country. Then the Northmen fared to their ships, and found king Hacon, and told of their parley what it had been. And most were eager that the truce should be denounced, and that harrying should begin; for the host was running very short of victuals.

King  
Hacon  
sails in  
under the  
Cumraes.

Another  
fruitless  
mission.

The North-  
men wish  
the truce  
to be de-  
nounced.

323. Then king Hacon sent to the king of Scots one of his bodyguard whose name was Kolbein the knight. He fared with the safe conduct which the king of Scots had sent to king Hacon. He was also to bring back with him that safe conduct which king Hacon had sent to the king of Scots. Along with this he was also to tell the king that king Hacon made him the offer to meet themselves with

King  
Hacon  
sends Kol-  
bein the  
knight to  
the king of  
Scots with  
no better  
success.

A.D. 1263. all their hosts and have a parley; and have with them their best men, and see if they could make peace. But if this were not fated, king Hacon offered that they should fight with all their host, and let him have the victory whom God would. But when Kolbein brought this matter before the king he took it as if it were not at all unlikely that he would fight with king Hacon. But still Kolbein so fared away that he got no positive answer to this business. At that time Kolbein took king Hacon's letters and left behind the letters of the king of Scots. So he fared till he found king Hacon and told him of his errand, and he thought he had taken little by his errand. So it is said in Raven's Song:

Sturla's  
verses.

The king from the East  
Oft scared the sad Scots,  
In battle oft smote them,  
With point of the spear;  
The thanes of coast-dwellers  
Were not fain to fight  
With the cleaver of bucklers  
So war-wise in strife.

King Hacon sends sixty ships to harry round Loch Long. Then there was an end of all truces. King Hacon parted his host, and sent sixty ships away from him up that firth which is called Ship-firth (Loch Long). At their head was king Magnus of Man, king Dougal and his brother Alan, and Margad and Angus. They were over the South islanders. But at the head of the Northmen were Vigleik priest's son and Ivar holm. And when they got up into the firth they took their boats, and drew them up there over the land to a great lake which is called Loch Lomond. Round the lake lay an earl's realm which is called Lennox. There were also very many islands on that lake and well tilled. Those isles the Northmen wasted with fire and sword. They burned too

They draw  
their ships  
into Loch  
Lomond  
and waste  
the Len-  
nox.



the whole district round the lake, and wrought there A.D. 1263.  
the greatest mischief. As Sturla sung :

Those soldiers so flight-shy  
Of dart-storms bold wielder,<sup>1</sup>  
Drew boats over dry land  
For many a length ;  
Those warriors undaunted  
They wasted with war-gales,<sup>2</sup>  
The islands thick-peopled  
On Lomond's broad loch.

Sturla's  
verses.

Alan, Dougal's brother, went almost across Scotland, Alan's  
and slew many a man. He took many hundred neat, forays  
and did much ravage : across  
Scotland.

As is here said :

Sturdy swordsmen of the earl  
Far in Scotland pushed their forays,  
Feeding everywhere the wolf,  
Burning dwellings far and wide ;  
Alan made their house hot,  
Meting out to men fierce flame.

Sturla's  
verses.

After that the Northmen fared to their ships, The North-  
There they took a great storm so that some ten men re-  
ships were wrecked. Then Ivar holm took a sudden turn to  
sickness which brought him to his death. their ships  
and lose  
ten in a  
storm.

324. King Hacon lay in the Cumbræes—Michaelmas  
was then on a Saturday. But the Monday night Death of  
Ivar Holm.  
after came a violent storm with hail and tempest. The storm  
falls on  
king Ha-  
Before day in the night they called out who kept con's fleet  
watch at the moorings of the king's ship that a bark off the  
was driving on the cables forward. Then men jumped Cumbræes  
up hastily and tore down the awnings and clad on the  
themselves. The stay of the bark caught the figure- night be-  
tween the

<sup>1</sup> King.

| <sup>2</sup> Battles.

A.D. 1263. head of the king's ship, and carried away the beaks.  
 1st and After that the bark drifted aft along the sides till  
 2nd of her anchor fouled and caught the cable of the king's  
 October. ship. Then the anchor began to drag. Then the  
 The king's ship in king bade them cut the cable of the bark's anchor,  
 danger and five and so they did. She then drove out on to the isle,  
 others are driven but the king's ship held the ground, but they lay  
 on the without awnings till daybreak. But in the morning  
 Scottish when the flood came the bark floated, and then she  
 coast off drifted up on the Scottish coast. The wind began to  
 Largs. wax all at once. Their ground-tackle then stood them  
 in good stead who had it. Then the fifth anchor was  
 cast on board the king's ship, but the king got into  
 a boat and rowed out to the isle and let a mass be  
 sung to him. But the ship drove on into the sound.  
 Then the sheet-anchor was taken and laid out, but  
 she drove nevertheless. Some five ships drove up on  
 the coast. Then they held on by their anchors on all  
 the ships, and on the king's ship too, she was then  
 riding on seven anchors, and the eighth which had  
 fouled the cable which belonged to the bark. Most  
 men so spoke that witchcraft must have brought  
 about this storm. Then they held on by their  
 anchors, all those ships which had driven on shore;  
 but three of them were altogether driven on shore,  
 and they had the greatest hardship. As is here  
 said :

Sturla's  
 verses.

The careful king  
 Met witchcrafts many  
 From the wizard lord  
 Of Scottish land;  
 The rolling surf  
 By black-arts driven,  
 Loosed many a ship  
 Of canvas bright,  
 From moorings stout  
 Made fast on shore.

And again :

The magic gale blew o'er the host  
On board the sea-steeds closely manned,  
And that restless bane of earth  
The sea, drove warlike crews ashore  
On Scottish land, their warshields bearing,  
Eager to combat for their king.

Sturla's  
verses.

325. When the Scots saw that the ships were drifting on shore, they gathered them together and fared down on the Northmen and shot at them. But they defended themselves and let the bark shelter them. Sometimes the Scots came on and sometimes they fell off. There few men fell, but many were wounded. Then king Hacon sent a force in to the shore in some boats, for the weather had then slackened a little. As is here said :

The king used to conquest,  
That sharpener of steel,  
At last sent his liegemen  
To storming of swords ;  
Then the king's henchmen  
Smote him, the great boaster,  
The chieftain who led there  
The Dale-dwellers kin.

Sturla's  
verses.

After that the king went out to his ship in a cutter manned by his pages together with Thorlaug the hot. As soon as the king's men got on shore the Scots fled up the country. The Northmen were on shore that evening and that night till it drew towards day. Then all the Northmen went into the buss. As soon as it was day, men clad themselves on board the king's ship and took their weapons, and so in the other ships, and rowed to land. The Scots had come to the bark, and taken such of the goods as they could get at. A little after king Hacon came on land, and with him some of the liegemen and much folk. Then the king made them strip the

King Hacon sends force on shore to help his men. They drive the Scots off, who return in the night to plunder the bark. The king lands and carries off the cargo of the bark.

A.D. 1263, bark, and bear her cargo into boats and carry it out  
 Oct. 3. to the ships.

The Scots  
 come down  
 in force  
 and attack  
 Ogmund  
 crow-  
 dance who  
 had taken  
 his stand  
 on a hil-  
 lock.

326. When the bark was all but cleared, the host of the Scots was seen, and most thought that the king of Scots himself must be with them, for the host seemed great. Ogmund crow-dance was on a hillock and some following of men with him, and the Scots who came up first made a sham attack on them. When they saw that the main battle was drawing near, men begged the king to get into a boat and row out to the ships, and send them much more force. The king offered to be on land with them, but they would not bring him into such risk; and for that he put off in a boat, and rowed out under the isle to his force. These were the liegemen who were on land: Ogmund crow-dance, Erling Alf's son, Andrew pot, Erlend the red, Andrew Nicholas' son, Thorlaug the hot and Paul sour. There were near sixty men from the king's ship, and at their head was Andrew clubfoot. But by the reckoning of most men there were in all eight or nine hundred of the Northmen on land. Nigh two hundred men were up on the hillock with Ogmund, but the other force stood down on the shingle. Then the Scottish host began to draw near, and it was a very great host. It was the reckoning of some men that they numbered five hundred knights; but some called them something less. That force was very well equipped, with mail-clad horses, and many Spanish steeds all covered with armour. The Scots had a great host of footmen, but that force was badly equipped as to weapons. They most of them had bows and Irish bills. The Northmen who were on the hillock dropped down towards the sea, so that the Scots should not hem them in. Then Andrew Nicholas' son came up on the hill, and asked Ogmund if he did not think it wiser to go down to the shingle to the force that

The North-  
 men leave  
 the hillock  
 and a  
 panic oc-  
 curs.  
 Many  
 boats are  
 sunk by



was there; and that advice was taken. Andrew bade his men to go down, but not to hurry like run-aways. Then the Scots came on fast, and pelted them with stones. Then a great shower of weapons fell upon the Northmen. But they fell back facing the enemy and shielded themselves. But when the Northmen came as far as the brow of the descent which went down from the hillock then each tried to be faster than the others. And when those who were down below on the shingle saw that, they thought that the Northmen wanted to flee. Then the Northmen ran to the boats, and in that way some of them put off from the land and came out to the ships. But most of the boats<sup>1</sup> sunk, and then some men were lost. Many Northmen ran under the lee of the bark and some got up into her. When the Northmen came down from the hillock into the dell between it and the shingle, then most of them took to running. But some one called out to them to turn back. Then some men turned back, but still few. There fell one of the king's bodyguard Hacon of Stein. Then the Northmen still ran away. But when they got down on the shingle it was again called to them to turn back. Then again some of them turned back, but not many. That was south on the shingle beyond the long-ship which had drifted on shore. There two of the Northmen fell. Those who had turned back had then nothing left for it than to keep on the defensive, and so they fell back until they came north round the long-ship. Then they found there some force of the Northmen,

A.D. 1263,  
Oct. 3.  
over-  
crowding,  
but few  
lives lost.

The fight  
on the  
shingle  
between  
the Scots  
and North-  
men.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of this and the following lines Fr. has this passage. "Andrew pot leapt over two boats and into the third and so fared from the land. Many boats were sunk and some men were lost.

"Some of the Northmen fell back down to the sea. There fell one of king Hacon's bodyguard, Hacon of Stein. Then the Northmen retreated south from the bark."

A.D. 1263. and they all shared in the fight together. These were the leaders there—Ogmund crow-dance, Andrew Nicholas' son, Thorlaug the hot, and Paul sour. Then there was a hard battle, but still a very unequal one, for there must have been ten Scots to one Northman. There fell a young man of the Scots; his name was Perus; he was come of the best stocks, and was the son of a powerful knight, and rode more boldly than any other knight. There fell men on both sides, but more of the Scots. As Sturla says:

Sturla's  
verses on  
Perus.

Our brave men laid low,  
In the tussle of war,  
The foes chosen champion  
That valourous knight;  
The vultures were sated  
With flesh from the life-lorn,  
O Perus proud horseman  
Who shall thee revenge.

The Scots  
are driven  
up to the  
hillock.  
After a  
lingering  
fight the  
Northmen  
storm the  
hillock.

While the battle lasted, there was so great a storm that king Hacon saw no way of getting his force on land. But Rognvald and Eilif of Nautsdale rowed in a cutter to the land; and Eilif got on shore in a boat, but Rognvald was driven out back to his ship. Eilif came to the battle with some men, and behaved very daringly, as well as those Northmen who had got into the boats and had landed on the shingle. Then the Northmen began to gather force, and then the Scots gave way up on to the hillock, and then there was a lingering fight between them for a while with shot and stones.

When the day was wearing away the Northmen made an onslaught on the Scots up on the hillock and there fell on them most boldly. As is said in the Raven's Song:

Sturla's  
verses.

The chosen barons of the king,  
Chief justice of North-Mæren folk,  
With war-songs hailed their sturdy foes,  
What time the hill at Largs they scaled;

The valiant henchmen of the king,  
Who keeps his throne in awful state,  
Marched iron-hooded, cased in steel,  
Against the foe in sword-stirred fray.

Brown brand bit the rebels sharply,  
At the mail-moot<sup>1</sup> on the hill;  
Up the "How" the red shields mounted,  
Till their bearers reached the top.  
Then the Scottish brand-gale cloudmen<sup>2</sup>  
Took to flight with terror stricken  
Turned their heels those doughty soldiers  
From the champions of the king.

A.D. 1263,  
Oct. 2.  
Sturla's  
verses.

Then the Scots fled away from the hillock as fast as each man could to the fells. But when the Northmen saw that they went to the boats and rowed out to the ships and got off with difficulty for the storm. But the next morning after men went to seek the bodies of those men who had fallen. There fell there Hacon of Stein and Thorgils silly; they were of king Hacon's bodyguard. There fell a good freeman from Drontheim whose name was Carlshead; and another freeman from the Firths whose name was Halkell. There lost their lives three pages, Thorstein boat, and John ballhead, and Halvard bunjard. The Northmen could not clearly tell what number of the Scots fell, for they took each man that fell and bore him to the woods. King Hacon let the bodies of his men be borne to church.

The Scots  
are beaten  
from the  
hillock  
and the  
Northmen  
put off  
to their  
ships.  
A list of  
the slain.

But the Thursday after he let the anchors be weighed and his ship be moved under the isle; and that day came the host to him which he had sent into Shipfirth (Loch Long). But the Friday after the weather was good, and then the king sent on land his guests to burn those ships which had driven on shore. That same day the king sailed away from the Cumbraes and out to Malas-isle (Lamlash), and lay there some nights. Thither came to him those men whom he had sent to

The king  
at Lam-  
lash.

<sup>1</sup> Battle.

<sup>2</sup> Shielded warriors.

A.D. 1263. Ireland; and told him that the Irish would keep the whole host that winter on the understanding that king Hacon would free them from the sway of the English men. King Hacon was very much inclined to sail to Ireland; but that was much against the mind of all his people. And so because the wind was not fair out that way, then the king held a Thing with his force; and gave it out that he would give them all leave to sail to the Southern Isles as soon as the wind was fair; for the host had fallen short of victuals. Then the king let the body of Ivar holm be borne on shore up in Bute and he was buried there. After that king Hacon sailed away from Malas-isle (Lamlash), and lay for a night under Arran, and thence under Sandisle, and so to the Mull of Cantire, and came in the night north under Gudey. And thence he sailed out into the Islay-sound, and lay there two nights. He laid a fine on the island of three hundred neat. Some of it was to be paid in meal and cheese. He left men then behind to receive it. King Hacon sailed thence on Sunday at the winter-nights<sup>1</sup> and got so great a storm with darkness that scarce one of his ships kept their sails whole; but from many of them they were all carried away. The the king made the haven of Kerrera, and men passed between him and king John, but nothing came of their meeting. Then king Hacon heard that his men had slaughtered many cattle on the shore in Mull and that some men of the Mull-dwellers were slain there, and two or three of the Northmen besides. Thence king Hacon sailed in to the Calf of Mull, and lay there some nights. There parted from him king Dougal and his brother Alan, and he allotted them that realm which king John had before had. King Magnus and the other South-islanders had before parted from him. To Rudri he allotted Bute but to

The messengers return from Ireland and king Hacon wishes to go thither, but his men are against it.

He goes to Islay, Kerrera, and Mull and parts from the South-islanders, and gives Bute to Rudri and Arran to Margad.

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<sup>1</sup> From the 24th to the 26th of October.



Margad Arran. To Dougal he gave that castle in A.D. 1263,  
 Cantire which Guthorm backclub had held during <sup>end of</sup> October,  
 the summer. In this voyage king Hacon had won King Ha-  
 back those realms which king Magnus barelegs had then won  
 won from Scotland and the Southern Isles. As is back all  
 here said: Magnus  
 barelegs  
 conquests.

The lord of Agdir soon got back  
 The lands that mighty Magnus won,  
 Magnus barelegs from the Scots  
 Making them his tribute lands.  
 No man living since has dared,  
 Of those across the Western main,  
 To raise a shield against the king ;  
 His wide domain remained unhurt.

Sturla's  
 verses.

327. King Hacon sailed out from the Calf of Mull King Ha-  
 with the host that was then with him, and which con sails  
 had not sailed away to Rona. There lay waiting to Rona  
 for him goodman Balti of Shetland, and those men and then  
 whom he had sent to the Orkneys ; and they sailed to Skye,  
 to the Orkneys to those men who had sailed thither then he  
 before, and whom the king wished should wait for steered  
 him in the Orkneys, and those as well whom he had north for  
 given leave to sail for Norway. King Hacon sailed the Ork-  
 from Rona on his course, and steered north. But the neys round  
 wind turned against him, and then he sailed in to Cape  
 West Firth (Loch Snizort) in Skye, and lay there Wrath  
 some time, and took a fine for victuals from the island. and ran  
 Thence he sailed round Cape Wrath. And when he into Loch  
 came off Dyrness then the weather fell calm. Then Eribol and  
 the king made them row in under the land, and ran was there  
 into a haven in that firth which is called Goafirth on St.  
 (Loch Eribol). That was on the eve of the two Simon and  
 apostles St. Simon and St. Jude, but the saints' day St. Jude's  
 was on the Lord's Day. The king lay there that day, Oc-  
 night. But on the saints' day, when mass had been tober 28th.  
 sung, some Scottish men came to him whom the  
 There he  
 granted  
 peace to  
 some Scot-  
 tish prison-  
 ers.

A.D. 1263. Northmen had taken. King Hacon gave them peace, and sent them up into the district; and they promised to come down with cattle to him; but one of them stayed behind as a hostage.

Oct. 28.  
The men  
of Caith-  
ness mur-  
der nine  
Northmen.

That event happened that day that eleven men of the ship of Andrew kuzi went on land in a boat to fetch water. A little after it was heard that they called out. Then men rowed to them from the ships; and there two of them were taken up swimming much wounded, but nine were found on land all slain. And the Scots had come down on them, but they all ran to the boat, and it was high and dry, and they were all weaponless, and there was no defence. But as soon as the Scots saw that boats were rowing up, they ran to the woods, but the northmen took the bodies with them.

Oct. 29.  
King Ha-  
con at  
Osmonds-  
voe in the  
Orkneys  
losing a  
ship in the  
Swelchie  
on the  
way.

On Monday king Hacon sailed out of Goa-firth, and let the Scottish man be put on shore and gave him peace. The king came at the beginning of night to the Orkneys, and lay in a certain sound north of Osmonds-voe. Thence he sailed into Rognvalds-voe. And thither came most part of the host which was then in the Orkneys; it was most part of the host that had sailed on before. And when they were sailing over the Pentland Firth, there was a great "race" in the firth, and there a ship from Rygjafylk was lost, and all the men that were in her. John of Hestby was driven east along the firth, and it was a very near thing that he had not been driven into the Swelchie; but by God's mercy the ship drifted east into the sea. But when he missed making the Isles he sailed to Norway.

King Ha-  
con in  
Rognvalds-  
voe.

328. King Hacon came into Rognvalds-voe, and then a great part of the host had sailed to Norway, some with his leave, but some gave themselves leave to go home. King Hacon had at first given out when he came to the Isles, that he would sail to Norway.

But because the weather began to harden, and there was no fair wind, he took that counsel to sit in the Orkneys that winter. Then he named near twenty ships to stay behind, but to the others he gave leave to sail home. King Hacon then sent letters by his men as to the ruling of the realm in Norway and other things. Behind with king Hacon were all the liegemen who had fared west, except Eilif of Naust-dale, he had sailed east; but most of the best men were behind with the king.

A.D. 1263,  
Oct. 29.

He keeps  
twenty  
ships with  
him and  
gives the  
rest of the  
host leave  
to return  
home.

After All Saints Day the king let his ship sail out to Middlelands-haven; but he stayed that day in Rogn-valdsey, and fared thence in to Kirkwall. After that each ship captain looked after his ship. Some were laid up in Middleland's haven, but some further in by Scapa-neck. King Hacon rode out to Middleland's haven on Saturday before Martinmas, that was on the eve of the mass. He was there very sick that night he was on board his ship. Next morning he let mass be sung for him on land. After that he settled about his ship, where she should be laid up, and bade men to bestow great pains in caring for the ship. After that he fared into Scapa-neck, and so to Kirkwall; he went to the bishop's house with all his train for whom he kept a table. They both had their boards in the hall, the king and the bishop, each of them for his men; but the king was up in his lodging, and took his meat always there. King Hacon then made out a list for his liegemen and the chiefs in his train of so much geldable land for their support to keep the bands that were with them, and in the same way with each crown estate in the Isles. Andrew clubfoot was to undertake to keep the king's own board, and to meet the outgoings for the bodyguard, guests, pages, and all his followers. When men had looked after their ships, each fared to the place that was allotted him for his quarters. These liegemen were in Kirkwall, Brynjolf

King Ha-  
con falls  
sick and  
goes to the  
bishop's  
house in  
Kirkwall.

King Ha-  
con lays up  
his ships  
and allots

A.D. 1263, John's son, Erling Alf's son, Rognvald ork, Erling of Oct. 29. Bjarkey, John queen, Erlend the red, and many other quarters to the ship captains; but the other liegemen and ship captains chiefs and crews. were in the country on those geldable lands which were allotted them.

King Hacon takes to his bed in the bishop's house, and grows gradually worse.

329. The king had had during the summer great watchings and much care; he was often called up, and had little peace from his men. But when he came off the sea out of Middleland's haven from his ship, as was already told, then he soon took to his bed for sickness. The sickness did not take its course very violently at first. And when the king had lain some three weeks he grew rather better, and for some three days he was in that state that he walked the first day much about his lodging, and the next day into the bishop's chapel, and heard mass there; but the third day he walked to St. Magnus' church, and round the shrine of Saint Magnus the earl. That day he let a bath be made for him, and went into it, and let himself be shaved. Afterwards that same night the course of his sickness began to get heavier, and then he took to his bed the second time, and men thought then that his sickness began to be much worse. In the sickness he let Latin books be read to him at first. But then he thought it great trouble to think over what that (the Latin) meant. Then he let be read to him Norse books, night and day; first the Sagas of the saints; and when they were read out he let be read to him the tale of the kings from Halfdan the black, and so on of all the kings of Norway, one after the other. When king Hacon thought he felt that the course of the sickness got much worse, then he took counsel for the wages-gifts to his body-guard, and he commanded that a mark of burnt silver should be given to each man of the body-guard; but half a mark to the guests and dish-swains, and the rest of his

He has Latin and Norse books read to him, and when he felt he could not recover he gave gifts to the chiefs and liegemen, and servants, and had letters written to king Magnus.



serving-men. Then he let all the furniture of his <sup>A.D. 1263.</sup>  
 table be weighed that was not gilt, and so ordered  
 that where pure silver fell short, then his table-plate <sup>King</sup>  
 should be given, so that all might have what was <sup>Hacon's</sup>  
 their fair due. Then also were written those letters <sup>last illness.</sup>  
 which he wished to send to king Magnus, with all  
 those arrangements which he thought were most  
 needful. King Hacon was annealed one night before  
 Lucy's mass. The bishops were there present: Thor-  
 gils bishop of Stavanger, Gilbert bishop of Hammar,  
 and Henry bishop of the Orkneys; and abbot Thor-  
 leif, and many other learned clerks. And ere he was  
 annointed then those men kissed him who were by.  
 The king was then still speech-hale. He was asked  
 in the sickness by his trustiest men if it happened  
 so hardly that his life were lost or that of king Magnus  
 whether he had no other son behind him; or whether  
 it was any good to seek in some other place where  
 his offspring might be. But he spoke strongly as to  
 this, that he had no son to succeed him but king  
 Magnus; and no daughters that men did not know  
 of already. When the tale of the kings was read  
 down to Sverrir, then he let them take to reading  
 Sverrir's saga. Then it was read both night and  
 day whenever he was awake.

330. The mass-day of St. Lucy the virgin was on 15th Dec.  
 a Thursday. But the Saturday after, late in the  
 evening, the course of the king's sickness was so  
 heavy on him that he lost his speech. Near mid-  
 night Sverrir's saga was read through. But just as <sup>His death.</sup>  
 midnight was past Almighty God called king Hacon  
 from this world's life. That was the greatest grief  
 to all those men that were by, and to many others  
 who heard it afterwards. These liegemen were by  
 when the king breathed his last: Brynjolf John's  
 son, Erling Alf's son, John queen, Rognvald ork, and

A.D. 1263. some serving men who had been most about the king in the sickness. At once after the king's death the bishops and clerks were sent for. And as soon as they came they sang the mass for the dead. After that all men went out of the chamber, save bishop Thorgils and Brynjolf John's son, and two other men. Then they washed the body, and shaved it; and showed it all the care that beseemed so noble a king as king Hacon had been. On Sunday the body was borne up into the upper hall. There was ready a bier with splendid furniture. The body was clad in noble robes and a garland set on his head, and everything was done as befitted so noble a prince and crowned king. The body was laid on a bier. Then all the bishops and priests who were then in the house and all the king's henchmen went thither. Then the candle-swains held torches, and then it was light all over the hall. Then the folk came in to see the body, and it seemed to all bright and comely, with a fair ruddiness on the face as of a living man. It was a great comfort to men for their great grief which had then come over men to see so fair a corse of a dead man and their own lord. Afterwards a solemn mass for the king's soul was sung, and the body-guard watched over the body that night. But on Monday the body of king Hacon was borne to Magnus' church, and there watched the second night. On Tuesday the body of king Hacon was laid in a coffin with such ceremony as is wont for a crowned king. He was buried in the choir in Magnus' church there on the steps before the shrine of Saint Magnus the earl. After that the stone was closed over it as it was before, and a pall was spread over it. Then a meeting of the body-guard was held, and that counsel was taken, that all the winter the main-guard should be kept over the king's tomb.

His body  
lies in  
state on  
15th and  
16th Dec.,

and is  
borne to  
the church  
of St. Mag-  
nus  
17th Dec.

His body-  
guard  
keep watch  
over his  
tomb.

grave. At Yule the bishop and Andrew clubfoot gave a feast according as king Hacon had settled it. Then too were good wages given to all men. A.D. 1264.

331. King Hacon had so settled it in his sickness that his body should be carried to Norway, and that he should be buried in Bergen with his fathers and other kinsmen. And as soon as high-winter was over and the sea began to be smooth, that the big ship was brought out in which the king had sailed west, and fitted out with all speed. On Ash Wednesday the body of king Hacon was taken out of the earth. That was on the 3rd of the Nones of the month of March. Then all the body-guard went out with it across Scapa neck, and the body was carried out in a boat to the ship. These had most care over the ship, bishop Thorgils, Erling Alf's son, and Andrew clubfoot. There on board was the king's bodyguard which had fared west. And when they were "boun," they put out to sea. They sailed out the first Saturday in Lent, and got hard and cross weather; and they made the land south in Sila-voe; and sent at once letters to king Magnus, and told him of those great tidings which had happened in their expedition. After that they went north to Bergen as soon as they had a chance. They came into Lax-voe the day before St. Benedict's mass. On the saint's day king Magnus rowed to meet them and bishop Peter. Then the ship was rowed up to the town off the king's house. The body was borne out of the ship up into the summer hall. But the morning after the body was borne out to Christ's Church. King Magnus walked along with it, and both the queens, the bishops, the clerks, henchmen, and all the townsfolk. After that the body of king Hacon was buried in the choir in Christ's Church. And king Magnus thanked God at the funeral with many fair words, and spoke a clever speech over the grave.

When high-winter was passed his body is taken up on the 5th of March, Ash-Wednesday and taken to Scapaneck and put on board his big ship which put to sea manned by his body-guard and the chiefs. They have a hard crossing, and reach Bergen on St. Benedict's Day, March 21st.

King Hacon is buried in Christ's Church.

A.D. 1264. There stood all the people with troubled heart. As Sturla sung :

Sturla's  
verses.

Woden's companion  
To Bergen came  
Three nights before  
He was buried in Church.  
There stood many thanes  
Not lively with wet lids,  
Very sad o'er his grave,  
It tried the heart hard.

March  
22nd.

King Hacon was buried three nights before Lady Day. Then had passed from the birth and incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ twelve hundred and sixty and three years, less three nights.

King  
Hacon's  
personal  
appear-  
ance.

332. King Hacon was not tall for a man of middle height; well grown, broad backed, and slim waisted; rather tall when sitting down, not long-legged, somewhat bow-legged, very much built in the same fashion as king Sverrir had been. The features on his face were marked, his hue good, with good hair; large-eyed and yet with good eyes. He was pleasant to all when he was in a good mood; but grim and terrible if he were wrath. He was merrier than any man, and livelier and lighter in himself. A kind man he was to the poor and needy, so that he was never in so heavy a mood that he did not answer them kindly. He was noble and affable when he sat with other princes; amiable and dignified, a clever man, and a good speaker at meetings. He was the wisest of men both in laws and counsel. Those wise men who were sent to him from other princes said that they had never seen a prince who pleased them better as a king, and lord, and companion. King Hacon let the law be amended in many things, and so also the land-codes in Norway. He let that be set down in the book which is now called the New Law. He did away all man-slaying and

King  
Hacon's  
character,  
his reforms  
in laws and  
in punish-  
ments.



chopping off of feet or hands within the land, A.D. 1264. unless there were very good reasons for them. No man should thrive in the land who took away another man's lawful wife. He also let all blood feuds be put down, so that no man should smart for another's illdoing, save atoning for them in those things which the law chose for him.

333. King Hacon set his heart more on strengthening God's Christianity in Norway than any other king before him since the king Saint Olaf was alive. He let a church be built north in Tromsøe, and christened all these parishes. To him came many Bjarmir who had fled from the east for the strife of the Tatars; and he christened them, and gave them a firth which is called Malangr. He let a church be built in the Ofota (Lofoden) and a stronghold at Agdaness. He let also a wooden hall be built in the king's yard at Drontheim, and all the best houses, and a chapel up away from the king's lodging. He let a church be built in Guley, north from Bergen, and brought the Gula-Thing thither. King Hacon let the Apostles' Church be built of stone in the king's yard in Bergen. He let Olaf's church be built and the cloister with it at his cost. He also let the king's yard in Bergen be covered with two good stone halls and many other buildings of stone. He let the wall round the king's yard be built, and a castle on both the wings. He let Catherine's church be built at Sand-bridge, and the spital, and gave to it an estate worth two hundred months' food. King Hacon let the castle at Bergen be rebuilt after it had been burnt down, and make the wall on both sides and furnish it with battlements, and build the barbican. Then too was built from the foundation the church of All Saints in the Voe-bight by the king's plan, and he gave to it in his sickness an estate worth a hundred months' food. He let a stone church be built

His love of  
building.

A.D. 1264. on Ogvald's ness, which is the fourth greatest district church in Norway. He let a stone wall be built round Tunsberg, and a castle over the gates and Gaut-Castle over the Danes-ridge. He also let all the "Berg" be covered with houses, and built the king's house by St. Lawrence church. He also let a Spital be built south of St. Olaf's Church, and gave to it an estate worth thirty marks food. He let the channel be dug out at Skeljastone, so that now barks of burden may pass there where before ships or small craft could hardly come. He let the church of the Barefooted Friars be built in Tunsberg, but it was afterwards brought south into Dragsmark, and he let St. Mary's Church be built there of stone, and gave to it an estate worth fifty marks. He let a burg be built on Vackabjorg (Aakeberg), and moved to it afterwards St. Nicholas Church in Oslo. He gave them preachers to St. Olaf's church . . . . and let the king's house be built out on the Eres near the town. He let Valdis-holm be built over, and a burg on Ragnhilds holm at the King's Crag, and built a king's house in the town. He also let Golden-isle be inhabited, and built a house on and cleared the Ekrisles and built a wooden church there. He let Marstrand be peopled, and many other waste isles in the Bay. He let a stone-burg be built on Mjösen on the holm by Ringsacre, and built houses there. He let a guest hall be built on Husaby in Skaun in Heidmark, and another at Ringsacre. He let a guest-hall be built at Vidheim in the Isles and a farm house, and he let the church be restored, for before it had fallen very much to ruin. He let a banqueting hall be built at Steig. He let a farmhouse be built at Hof in Breidin, and a banquetting-hall . . . . and set apart estates for it. He let a chapel be built in Thopt, where there was none before, and a banquetting-hall; and many other good houses. King Hacon

King  
Hacon's  
public  
works and  
buildings  
in all parts  
of the  
land.

bought Lo in Uppdale, and let a farm house be built A.D. 1264. on it, and a chapel, and a banqueting-hall. He let also the wall be built round Sverrir's burg at Steinbjorg, and rebuilt the house after the Crozier-men had pulled it down.

Jesus Christ, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, <sup>Here the</sup> guard and keep, bless and honour such a lord's soul, <sup>Saga ends.</sup> who has left behind him so many profitable things. Per omnia sæcula. Here ends the Saga.

END OF THE HACON SAGA.

# FRAGMENTS OF THE SAGA OF MAGNUS, HACON'S SON.

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## 1. *Two vellum leaves in four columns in the Arna-Magn. Collection.*

### *The 1st vellum leaf.*

A.D. 1264. . . . that host which had fared west with king Hacon, and said that things looked little like peace in the Western Lands. That summer abbot Birgir of Tautra fared out to the Pope's court, and then the canons of Nidaros had chosen him to be archbishop designate after archbishop Einar who had then died in the autumn. But they could not choose him, for that he was a priest's son, and a monk. He found king Magnus in Bergen and they had little to do with one another. The abbot was at the Pope's court that winter.

The barons and chiefs in the Orkneys send men to Alexander the Scot-king to treat for peace. They were badly received and threatened with death or imprisonment. The Orkneys are threatened by the Scots.

2. After the death of king Hacon in the spring, the barons and best men who were in the Orkneys sent bishop Henry and Sira Askatin the chancellor up into Scotland to find king Alexander to inquire as to making peace between the countries. But that was not well taken, and the Scots threatened to slay the Northmen when they had come thither, or to cast them into prison. The Scots brought against them that the Northmen had burnt and harried more than a third of Scotland; and so they took nothing by their errand. Then Sira Askatin fared east to Norway to find king Magnus, and told him of his doings, and how ill his business had been taken in Scotland. King Magnus took that counsel that he



sent Ogmund crow-dance to the Orkneys; there he gave him power to guard the land. But Eric Dougal's son he sent to the Southern Isles. He had an eighteen-bencher manned with the body-guard and guests and candle-swains. With him was to fare from the Orkneys John bull, and Eric the hot, and each of them was to have his ship. But when Ogmund came into the Orkneys he heard that the king of Scots had sent a host into Caithness. And they took much goods from the men of Caithness because king Hacon had laid a fine on the men of Caithness. There was then much talk that war would be made on the Orkneys, and for that Ogmund would not that the force should fare out of the Orkneys. Eric and his companions were there that winter. Sira Askatin came to Norway, as was written before, but Ogmund and his companions had then gone on their way. But Hoskuld Odd's son was busking himself west to the Orkneys. Then king Magnus let brother Maurice fare with him, and another Bare-Footed Friar whose name was Sigurd, and besides Henry the Scot to serve them and . . . . and they fared as speedily as they could up into Scotland, and found the king of Scots, and he received them somewhat better than the bishop and his companions. The king of Scots bade them fare back to Norway, and say thus to king Magnus, that he should send the summer after good messengers to Scotland, if his heart was set on making peace between the lands. They fared that same autumn back to Norway.

A.D. 1261.  
Prepara-  
tions to  
defend the  
Orkneys.

Other mes-  
sengers  
are sent  
and king  
Alexander  
receives  
them  
somewhat  
better.  
He asks  
king  
Magnus to  
send mes-  
sengers to  
Scotland  
next year.

3. King Magnus sat in Bergen that summer. That summer Halvard Goldshoe came from Iceland. He told those tidings that all the Icelanders had then turned to allegiance under king Magnus; and the death of king Hacon was known in Iceland when he sailed abroad. There fared with him then Thorvard the son of Thorarin, and he went over into king Magnus'

Good news  
from  
Iceland.

A.D. 1264 power, and gave up all his estates into his hand  
-1265. because of those forfeitures which he had incurred towards the king in cutting off Thorgil's scar and Berg, of king Hacon's bodyguard. The Icelanders have never since gainsaid obedience to the bidding and banning of king Magnus. They came too with more cheerfulness under him than under king Hacon his father.

King Magnus goes to Drontheim and lies in Steinavoe. King Magnus busked him to go north to Drontheim, and was late boun. He lay on All Saints Day in Leirgula, and fared thence to Sildar, thence he fared

He sees a fire at Giszki and sends help. to Selja, and so north over the Neck. But queen Margaret fared by the coast along with the ships, and they met in Steinavoe. When king Magnus lay in Steinavoe, men saw fire burning on the sea. King Magnus said that the homestead on Giszki was burning; and he called on men that they should go thither, and said it could never be borne that men lay so, and would not go to save houses or men, if need were.

John "twice-shorn" was treasurer on board the ship, and he set out, and two men with him out of most of the half-berths, and they had a hard row. They got the new homestead saved which Nicholas had let be built, but the old one burned. Then John and his fellows fared back, and had been a great help to the men of Gizki. Then king Magnus fared north to Drontheim, and went on board the candle-swain's cutter. He fared to Rein and queen Margaret with him. But the king's ship fared in under Holm; and they had there a very hard berth that night. King Magnus sailed out in the morning, but could not land at the Holm. Then he held on in to the river mouth outside Bakk, and there lost his ship, but men got on land, and saved all their goods. That autumn died Nicholas of Gizki, and then ended the pedigree of the men of Gizki, who were come from Arni Arnmod's son; but still Nicholas left a daughter behind him whose name was Margaret, and her mother was . . . That

That autumn Nicholas of Gizki dies, and his family is extinct in the male line.

match was thought at that time the best in the land, both for the sake of kinship, and wealth and beauty. King Magnus sat that winter in Drontheim, and this was the second winter of his reign. In the winter after Yule came to Drontheim brother Maurice and those who had fared to Scotland with him, and they told king Magnus their errand such as it had been. A.D. 1265.

4. King Magnus fared in the spring south to Bergen and came there after Easter. Then he sent to Scotland bishop Gilbert and Sira Askatin according as the king of Scots had begged. They fared first south to England into Lynn. There was then great strife in England. That summer Simon Montfort was slain. Then the bishop and his companions fared north to York, and were there awhile. In that autumn on which Ogmund crow-dance and his companions came to the Orkneys, and the Scots had come to take a fine from the men of Caithness, lord Dougal fell on them as they fared back, and slew of them much folk, and seized the great sum which they were carrying off. He slew there the lawman of the Scots. That summer the Scots fared out into the Southern Isles with a host; and then Angus of Islay went under the Scots, and many of them who had backed king Hacon when he was in the Southern Isles. They fared as far south as Man, and forced Magnus their lord to swear oaths to them. But lord Dougal saved himself on shipboard, and they could not lay hold on him. But the spring after he came to the Orkneys and begged for help. His son Eric was then with him and Eric the hot and John bull. They had three ships. Then they fared . . . . . King Magnus in Bergen and sends messengers to Scotland by way of England.  
  
The Scots invade the Southern Isles, and annex them.

*The 2nd vellum leaf.*

A.D. 1271  
-1272.

5. . . . . the winter after Yule. That winter at Yule king Magnus appointed a provost to the

A.D. 1271  
-1272.  
King Magnus cast in the Bay.

Apostle's church and the canons in Bergen with the counsel of bishop Askatin, and assigned to it prebends and much goods. King Magnus fell so very sick after Yule that he let himself be annealed.

He makes ready to keep Yule at Tunsberg.

In that same year Gregory was consecrated pope. In that year died many noble princes—Henry king of the English, and his brother king Richard of Almain, and duke Eric south of the Elf. In the summer after king Magnus set out on his voyage south out of Bergen to the Elf, and meant to meet Waldemar the Swede-king, as they had agreed. He came to the King's Crag near Lady-day the later, and stayed there on over St. Michaelmas day. But king Waldemar did not come to meet him, and fared up into Sweden after his sports. King Magnus then made up his mind to wait no longer for him, and he fared north to Tunsberg, and made ready to spend the winter there.

A.D. 1272  
-1273.

The king's friendship with Waldemar king of Sweden not so good since the death of earl Birgir.

King Waldemar and his brothers.

At that time the friendships of king Waldemar in Sweden wasted very much away, compared with what they were while earl Birgir lived. There were then four brothers alive born in wedlock. King Waldemar, and duke Magnus, squire Eric, and Benedict, and he was a clerk. It was offered him that he should become archbishop. But squire Eric was thought to have nothing, and he called himself Eric lack-all. He had gone abroad into Denmark, and dwelt there a while with the Dane-king. But at that time he had come back, and the king, his brother, held him in some suspicion. King Waldemar had also then let John the son of Philip be seized in church, and kept him in ward. Then king Waldemar sent word north to king Magnus in Tunsberg, and would by all means meet him wherever king Magnus liked to come to meet him. But king Magnus would not fare farther than to Borg, and there the meeting was fixed. It fell on a day before king

A meeting fixed at Borg between king Magnus and king Waldemar.



Waldemar fared to the meeting that squire Eric begged he might have leave to ride out and amuse himself. But when the king allowed that then he rode off north into Norway, and a few lads with him. He found king Magnus east at Varna, when he was on his way to the meeting at Borg. King Magnus received him well, and squire Eric followed him to the meeting. There king Magnus did what he could to set those brothers at one again; and he also got John Philip's son reconciled with king Waldemar. They were to meet at Skara and twelve men were to swear oaths at their atonement. Then too was taken into peace Boi the mad, who had then been for a while with king Magnus. King Magnus received king Waldemar with the greatest kindness, and sent bishop Arni of Skalholt to meet him, and other good men besides. King Waldemar was with king Magnus the whole time they were together; and there was the most splendid banquet. All things passed as blithely as could be between them, and there memorable things were talked of which we do not write. King Magnus gave king Waldemar noble gifts when they parted; and sent Olaf of Stone, and other good men more east to Skara with king Waldemar to be present at the oaths which were to come about as to the atonement of those brothers and John Philip's son, which king Magnus had undertaken on their behalf at the wish of king Waldemar. But those oaths were not taken to the liking of those who were to witness them, and then things fell back again into discord with the Swedes. King Magnus fared from the meeting out of Borg to Tunsberg, and sat there the rest of the winter. This was the tenth year of his sole rule. That winter was great strife in Denmark between Eric the Dane-king and the Germans. Then the Dane-king sent messengers to king Magnus to seek for friendship and trust at his

A.D. 1272  
-1273.

Squire  
Eric flies  
to Nor-  
way.

King Mag-  
nus tries to  
reconcile  
the Swe-  
dish king  
to his  
brothers.

His efforts  
come to  
nothing.

He spends  
the winter  
in Tuns-  
berg.

The Dane-  
king quar-  
rels with

A.D. 1273. hands, but he took that well and sent messengers in return. All things went well in the messages of the kings. Eric the Dane-king got then the best in his quarrels with the Germans that winter. The king fared in the spring out of Tunsberg, when he had ended his business . . . . . at Lidandisness came after him John Philip's son with some following; and said this that king Waldemar had chased him out, and that what he had promised to king Magnus in Borg was not kept. He fared then to Bergen with the king.

King Mag- 6. King Magnus sat that summer in Bergen; and nus in Bergen. he let these plans be fulfilled which he had taken already in Tunsberg in the winter. He had then summoned to him all his stewards in the Bay on St. Peter's day, and held a conference with them. He then settled what each of them should get out of each stewardship at the time when he . . . . . those men who held his fiefs. Then had come to Bergen archbishop John and all the suffragan bishops who were in the land. There too were barons and liegemen almost all of them. Two nights after St. Peter's day king Magnus held a meeting of the body-guard in the summer-hall, and then laid bare the counsel which he wished to let be taken as to the titles of his sons. He then declared also to his men those customs which he wished them to keep as to bearing arms and other things. The morning after was the church feast day at the Apostles' Church in the king's yard, and king Magnus heard prayers there early in the morning and mass; but the squires an out mass at Christ Church "*de Spiritu Sancto*." But after that a Thing was held in Christ Church yard, and so arrayed as the king had told them before at the meeting . . . . . and greeted the king. After that Vigleik the marshal spoke on behalf of the body-guard. After that the

He lays down new regulations for his court and bodyguard.

About this a meeting is held and speeches made.

archbishop spoke, and he began by the grief which A.D. 1273.  
all Norway men felt for the death of squire Olaf, The arch-  
the son of king Magnus; and gave out what blessing bishop  
Almighty God had now granted to all the folk of laments  
Norway and . . . . . that estate which he had the death  
inherited . . . . . and made a long and clever of squire  
speech out of it. After that the king made a beauti- Olaf the  
ful speech, and ended it with this, that he gave to son of king  
his son Eric the title of king but to Hacon the title Magnus.  
of duke. Then they went to the shrine of Saint  
Sunniva and laid their hands . . . . . (*Here*  
*ends the 2nd vellum leaf.*)

2. *Fragments of the Magnus Saga from an Ice-*  
*landic compilation of Annals of about the year*  
1570. *Holm. No. 5, in 8vo.*

*The first Fragment.*

7. King Magnus fared from Bergen to Nidaros, A.D. 1275.  
and with him queen Ingiborg and their sons, and King Mag-  
was at the Frosta-Thing, and fared afterwards in to nus holds  
Drontheim to Lidangr. He came to Nidaros before the Eyrar-  
St. Peter's day, and on the eve of St. Swithin he Thing at  
held the Eyrar-Thing, and let there be given out the Nidaros.  
titles of his sons. On St. Olaf's mass the later king  
Magnus began his voyage out of Nidaros and south  
to Bergen, and he was there that winter. On St.  
Lawrence's day came hail at Skaun between Orka-  
dale, so great that some of the hail-stones weighed  
fifteen good ounces. That hail fell far and wide in  
the Drontheim district. In this year, about the time King  
of midsummer, rose against king Waldemar of Sweden Waldemar  
his brother duke Magnus and squire Eric, with some of Sweden  
help of the Dane-king Eric. But when king Waldemar driven out  
had got beaten with his men he fled to Norway with by his  
squire Eric his three year old son, and came to the brother  
duke Mag-  
nus and  
fies to

A.D. 1275. Borg stewardship to Erling Alf's son ; and fared a little later east to Sweden, but left behind with Erling squire Eric. Then king Waldemar was taken prisoner and queen Sophia. Then the realm of Sweden came under his brothers dukes Magnus and Eric sometime after squire Eric Birgir's son died. But king Waldemar and queen Sophia escaped by flight from Sweden into Ragnhilds-holm by the King's Crag . . . . .

Norway with his son Eric to king Magnus. He returns to Sweden, is taken prisoner, and again takes refuge in Norway.

8. That summer king Magnus fared from Norway to the Landsend ; and had then for the first time some callings out of the levies in men since he was sole king in Norway ; and he did that for this sake that he wished to take counsel to set king Waldemar and his brother duke Magnus at one again. That was also the cause of this summons that king Magnus wished to guard his land that no sparks of strife might fly (into it) from the discord of the princes of the Swedes, from which his realm might get harm done to it.

King Magnus comes east to the Bay with a great force.

In that same summer king Magnus sailed with his host to the King's Crag. He came there on the feast of Alban the Martyr. There he found king Waldemar and queen Sophia, and squire Eric their son five winters old, in Ragnhilds holm ; and king Magnus sat there three nights. Queen Ingiborg stayed behind in Tunsberg, and king Eric and duke Hacon. On the Thursday after the feast of St. John the Baptist, king Magnus sailed with his host from the King's Crag to Horsaberg, he had near a hundred and twenty ships. There were then in his company archbishop John, and Andrew bishop of Oslo, Askatin bishop of Bergen ; and these liegemen : Erling Alf's son, Alf his son, Finn his son, Erlif of Naustdale, Andrew Paul'sson clubfoot, Bjarni of Gizki, Gauti of Tolga, Thorir the chancellor ; and these marshals, Olaf of Stein, Vagleik Audun's son, Audun Huggleik's



son; the provincial prior Aki of the Preaching Friars, A.D. 1275. Orm the standard bearer, and many others honourable men, clergy and laymen. King Waldemar sailed up with king Magnus and his company. Then too the messengers of Eric the Dane-king followed king Magnus up, John bishop of Borglum, Jacob bishop of Aarhus, prior Henry of Andverd's-wood, John the little of Scania son of John the son of Reginmoda, Uffi the marshal. At that time came to see king Magnus the count of Ravensburg and squire Jacob, son of count Nicholas of Halland, the son of Waldemar the Dane-king. The ship which king Magnus called Christs-clinker, and which his father king Hacon had taken west with him across the sea, lay behind at the King's Crag by Ragnhild's-holm; for that it was thought risky to steer her through Baga-stream, for the sake of the greatness of the ship.

On Friday came duke Magnus to Horsaberg to see king Magnus, and with him Folk archbishop of Upsala, Henry bishop of Linköping, Eric bishop of Skara, Onund bishop of Nerike, and many other great men of the Swedish chiefs. Then there was a talk in landtents about reconciling those brothers king Waldemar and duke Magnus. That duke Magnus the Swedes now called their king; archbishop Folki had now crowned him on Whitsunday.

On St. Peter's day fared king Magnus and squire Eric, king Waldemar's son, across the river to Hnydingberg; because duke Magnus would not come to the parliament unless squire Eric were there. And then a parliament was set again, and king Waldemar came to it. He and the duke his brother met, and things looked peacefully between them by the help of king Magnus. Then they named men as judges to make peace and settlement. They both named first king Magnus for his fairness and justice. Afterwards they each named eight men as aids to king Magnus,

A meeting at Horsaberg to settle the king of Sweden's quarrel with his brother.

A parliament is held and king Magnus of Norway is chosen arbitrator.

A.D. 1275. to ransack and prove their case, that as soon as possible right judgment should be made and a steadfast peacemaking between those brothers. King Waldemar named these men as judges on his behalf archbishop John, bishop Askatin, John bishop of Börglum, prior Henry of Andverds-wood, lord John the little, Erling Alf's son, Alf his son, and Olof of Stone. Duke Magnus named these men: archbishop Folki, Henry bishop of Linköping, Eric bishop of Skara, Onund bishop of Nerike, lord John Philip's son, Algauti the law-man, Alf Karl's son, the brother's son of Alf the courteous, and Karl the marshal. Now as these leaders and chiefs were named as judges, they began to talk of these great matters and difficulties. Then it was asked on behalf of king Waldemar, that he should be taken back worthily into his realm, for that he had been wrongfully driven out of it, in an unproved cause and charge against him. He would also at that time when he was come back into his realm answer the charges if any were proved against him, and each should do the other right. But those who took the realm from him, and they who were at the judgment on behalf of duke Magnus would not agree to that. But they offered that king Waldemar should have Helsingland and Vermland, and all that the king of the Swedes holds west of lake Wener and Stickaborg, and along with it three hundred marks for income every year. But it seemed to Magnus king of Norway that this could in nowise be agreed to on behalf of king Waldemar, that they should not give him back all his realm and his taxes, when they had before wrongfully driven him out of his realm with strife and manslayings, in an unproved quarrel, without any misdeeds of his own; especially as they had no right of judgment over him, nor any claim upon him, as he was their lord and prince. After that they had laid hands on him and his queen,

The terms offered by king Magnus of Sweden to king Waldemar are declared by king Magnus of Norway to be unacceptable and dishonourable, so the parliament broke up and no reconciliation was made.

and taken his realm from him, and from both of them; and stripped him of all kingly dignity and honour with great duress, and bad treatment, and had done them many other indignities and trials in word and deed. Over and above this the Swedes had taken them another king and crowned him, as was said before, and offered him no more honour in amends for all that great robbery and unheard of disgrace which they had wrought on their own crowned king, as was said before. And that was the view one and all of those who were named as judges on behalf of king Waldemar that this was rather mockery and unheard of injustice than a seemly reconciliation or fitting amends which the Swedes then offered to their over-king after what they had done, as has now been said. For this no reconciliation was made at that time between them. And they parted as things stood. On Thursday king Waldemar and king Magnus fared with a company of the Swedes down to Ragnhild-holms. On Sunday king Magnus held a Thing at the King's Crag. On Tuesday the kings fared out to the Ekrisles.

A.D. 1276.  
King  
Waldemar  
and king  
Magnus  
fare to the  
Ekrisles.

Somewhat later king Magnus sailed with his force north to Tunsberg and along with him Sophia queen of king Waldemar and squire Eric their son, their daughters Ingibjorg, whom Geirard son of count Geirfard of Holstein had to wife, and lady Catherine. King Waldemar sailed a little later to Denmark. On St. Olaf's day king Magnus gave the title of earl and an earldom to Magnus the son of earl Magnus. On the feast of St. Clare king Magnus sailed to Oslo and was there at the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and fared afterwards up across Crookwood, Ringariki, Hadeland, and Thotn, and so to Ringsaker; and thence to Hammar, and afterwards to Husaby, and thence out along Mjösen, and afterwards out along the river Verma to Eidsvall, and held there

King  
Magnus  
and king  
Waldemar  
in Tuns-  
berg.

After that  
king Wal-  
demar goes  
to Den-  
mark and  
king  
Magnus  
makes a  
progress  
through

A.D. 1276. a law-Thing. From Eidsvall he fared out along the stew-ardships round lake Mjösen, and then returns to Tunsberg. Romarick and so to Oslo. On the eve of St. Mary he came to Tunsberg. On Michaelmas eve he fared east over the firth, and came to Sarpsborg, and held a law-Thing there. On the Sunday after the bridal of Sira Thorir the chancellor was held there. On the feast of the Relics Magnus came back east to Tunsberg and sat down there. A little before queen Sophia had sailed from Tunsberg for Denmark, and her son squire Eric, and with them Andrew Hugleik's son the marshal, and Guttorm Gyda's son, the messengers of king Magnus; but the daughters of queen Sophia stayed behind with queen Ingiborg at Tunsberg. In that same summer the tile-castle was finished to the south of Broadhall in Tunsberg. In the autumn after and through the winter was strife between the Swedes and Danes. . . . Frillusson was consecrated to be bishop in the Southern Isles at Tunsberg . . . .  
*(Here the fragment ends.)*

Still strife  
between  
the Swedes  
and Danes.

## 3.

Smaller entries, probably taken from the lost Magnus Saga :

Smaller  
entries  
from the  
lost  
Magnus  
saga.

1267.—Bishop Jörund got leave to make canons at Holar. That same winter at Yule it was settled between bishop Jörund and Gizur that the earl should fare in the next summer after to Videy, and then take on him at once the garb of a canon.

1269.—King Magnus sat the winter in Tunsberg.

1270.—King Magnus was the winter in Bergen.

1272.—King Magnus took so great sickness that he let bishop Askatin anneal himself (sic), and sat in Tunsberg the winter.



1273.—On Easter Day came blood from the feet of A.D. 1276. a rood at Thingeyrir. Andrew shieldband (Nicholas' son?) breathed his last on the Jewry sea. Then king Magnus made Thorvard and Rafn swear to each other oaths of good faith and fellowship at Bergen in the presence of archbishop John and many other worthy men; and gave over to them all Iceland to rule under his sway. King Magnus sat the winter in Bergen. The king's chapel in the castle by the sea in the king's yard was then fitted out . . . .

Archbishop John came home from the Curia, and wrecked his ship the next Lord's Day after All Hallows mass in Eids-voe, to the north of Bergen. And on the Friday after the Feast of St. Theodore, king Magnus let a procession be made from the Apostles Church to meet the relics,<sup>1</sup> and bishop John sang a solemn mass.

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<sup>1</sup> Part of Our Lord's Crown of Thorns which king Philip of France had sent to king Magnus.

## ADDITIONS TO HACON'S SAGA.

## I.

*Vellum frag. b. (the 4th and 5th leaf).*

South on Cantire is a castle. There sat a knight. He fared to meet king Hacon, and gave the castle into his power. Then the king sent off his men to take what was there. But he allotted the castle to Guthorm bank-club, and men with him. Brother Simon had lain sick awhile. And when king Hacon lay at Gigha, the brother died. He was borne in to Cantire, and the gray monks took his body and buried it in their church, and spread palls over his grave, and called him a saint.

Now is to be told of that part of the host which the king had sent to the Tarbet of Cantire. They got there great hardships and a weary journey. And when they came into the main tilths, where they found both men and fee, then came to meet them king Hacon's men, and forbade them to harry thenceforth, and that misliked them very badly. They fared to their ships with that war-spoil which was gotten and sailed out thence under Gigha, and found there king Hacon.

King Hacon was late in getting a fair wind from Gigha. Then he sent south some light ships, and Andrew pot was over them, who were to fare to Bute to meet those who had been sent thither. They had

made an onslaught on the castle and won it in that wise that those who sat in it, gave up the castle and took peace from the Northmen. There was also with the Northmen a ship-captain whose name was Rudi; he thought he was born to rule in Bute, but because he did not get the island from the Scots he made great strife on them, and slew many a man, and for that sake he was outlawed from Scotland. He came to king Hacon in the Southern Isles, and swore oaths to him, and became his man, and his two brothers with him. But as soon as those who had given up the castle were away from the Northmen, Rudi fared after them, and slew many men of them; for he thought he had not promised them any peace. After that the island was laid under king Hacon.

Those Northmen who were then in Bute fared up into Scotland, and burned there many homesteads. Rudi fared far and wide there with slaughters and robberies, and did all the harm he could.

King Hacon sailed out of Gigha south round the Mull of Cantire with all the host that was with him, and then lay off Arran. Next to that he lay in Arran Sound. Then came speedily to him the Scot-king's men, and sought for peace between the kings. Then king Hacon let loose king John, and bade him go whithersoever he would. After the goings between and seeking for peace which the messengers of the Scot-king had with king Hacon, then he sent men to meet the king of Scots. At their head were two bishops, Gilbert of Hammar, and Henry bishop of the Orkneys, Andrew Nicholas' son and Andrew club-foot. They found the king of Scots in the town of Chipping-Noar (New Ayr)<sup>1</sup> and he received them tolerably. But when they spoke about peace, the

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<sup>1</sup> Munch suggests that this town | Ayr, or in daily speech "New-  
was Ayr, then called Newton of | Ayr."

king said it was likely that he would wish to make peace, and said he would call together his council and send men afterwards to the king of Norway with those messages which seemed good to him and his councillors. After that the messengers went away, but the men of the king of Scots fared a night later. And when they found the king there was a talk about peace. King Hacon had let a list be made of all those islands to the west of Scotland which he claimed as his own. But the king of Scots had named those which he would not let loose. Those were Bute and Arran, and the Kinur (Cumbrae) isles; but as to other things there was little to choose between the king's terms. But still this peace did not come about. Then the Scots spun out the matter, and leant that way that no peace at all should be made, for the summer was then passing away and the weather began to harden. With this they fared back to the king of Scots. After that king Hacon sailed in under the Cumbrae isles with his whole host. There were then still messengers passing to and fro. The Scots gave out that peace was likely. Then again another meeting was fixed up the country in Scotland. The king sent to this meeting bishops and liegemen; but to meet them came monks and knights, and then they had long talks about peace. But in the end it all came to the same as before. And when the day wore on the Northmen thought the Scots faithless, for they were getting force up the country. Then the Northmen fared to their ships and found king Hacon, and told him of their parley. Most were eager that the peace should be denounced and that war should be made; for the host were running very short of victuals.

Then king Hacon sent to the king of Scots one of his bodyguard whose name was Kolbein. He went with a safe-conduct which the king of Scots had sent to king Hacon. He was also to bring back with him



the safe-conduct which king Hacon had sent to the king of Scots. Along with this he was to tell the king that king Hacon offered him that they should meet themselves with all their hosts and have a parley, and have at it the best men, and so they might make peace. But if this were not fated, king Hacon offered that they should fight with all their hosts, and let him have the victory whom God would. But when Kolbein brought this matter before the king he made as though it was not unlikely that he would fight with king Hacon; but still Kolbein so went his way that he got no answer in this business. Then Kolbein took there king Hacon's letter, but left behind him the letter of the king of Scots. He fared till he found king Hacon, and told him of his errand. Then there was an end of all truces. King Hacon parted the host, and sent away from him sixty ships into the firth that is called Ship-firth (Loch Long). At their head was king Magnus out of Man and Dougal, his brothers Alan Margad and Angus. They were the leaders of the Southern Islanders. But at the head of the Northmen were Vigleik priest's son and Ivar holm. And when they came up into the firth, they took their boats and dragged them up there on land to a great lake. Around the lake lay an earl's realm. There were also a number of isles in that lake, and well tilled. These isles the Northmen wasted with fire and sword. They burnt too all the district round the lake, and . . . . .

*Here ends the first leaf; of the following leaf only  
a portion of the lower part is preserved.*

*The 1st column.*

. . . ingers.

King Hacon lay in the Southern Isles. Michael-mass was then on a Saturday, but on Monday night

came on a violent storm with hail and tempest. Before day, in the night, those who kept ward over the moorings on the king's ship called out and said that a bark was drifting on the cables forward. Then men jumped up swiftly and pulled down the awnings and clad themselves. The bark's stay fouled the head of the king's ship and took off the nose-cheeks. Afterwards the bark drifted aft along side until her anchor caught and fouled the cable on the king's ship. Then the anchors took to . . . . .

*The 2nd column.*

. . . ors on all the ships and so also on the king's ship. There were then seven anchors out besides the eighth that is fast in the cable which they had owned on board the bark. So said most men that witchcraft must have to do with this storm. Then they hauled off by the anchors all the ships which had been driven on shore. But three were altogether driven on land, and they had the greatest hardships.

*The reverse of the leaf.*

*The 3rd column.*

The Northmen were on shore that evening and the night through till it drew towards day. Then all the Northmen got up into the buss. As soon as it was day, men clad themselves on board the king's ship and armed themselves, and so also on board the other ships and rowed to land. The Scots had come to the bark and taken such of her goods as they could get at. A little after king Hacon came on shore, and some liegemen with him and much folk. The king then let the bark be stripped, and her cargo be carried into boats, and borne out to the ships.

*Battle in Scotland.* When the bark was all but stripped, the host of the Scots was seen, and all thought that . . . . .

*The 4th column.*

. . . Ogmund if he did not think it wiser to go down to the shingle to the force that was there. And that counsel was taken. Then the Scots pressed them hard and stoned them. Then there was a great shower of weapons on the Northmen. But they gave way and fell back and shielded themselves. But just as the Northmen came on to the brow then each man went faster than the one before him. And when those who were down on the shingle saw that, they thought that the Northmen wished to fly, and then many sprang to the boats, and some came by that away from the land and out to the ships, but most of the boats sunk, and some men were lost there. Many Northmen ran up under the bark . . . . . (*here the leaf ends.*)

II.—*A specimen from Cod. Holm, see ch. 163.*

That summer great strife was heard of from the west across the sea out of the Southern Isles. Alan was the name of an earl in Scotland, he was a son of Rolland earl of Galloway. Earl Alan was the greatest warrior of that time; he had a great host and a fleet of ships, and harried both round the Southern Isles and Ireland, and made great warfare far and wide in the Western lands. Olaf the son of Godred was then king in Man, and held that realm manfully against the earl with great faithfulness towards king Hacon. But the kings of the Southern Isles, who were come of Somerled's stock, were very faithless to king Hacon. These were then kings in

the Southern Isles : Dougal skræk, Duncan his brother, the father of John, who was afterwards king. They were the sons of Dougal the son of Somerled. There was a man named Ospak, who had been long with the Birchshanks. It came out that he was a son of Dougal, and their brother. Somerled was again the name of their kinsman who was then king in the Southern Isles . . . . .

### III. FROM A VELLUM FRAGMENT AT CHRISTIANIA.

#### *The 2nd page.*

Alan was the name of a man, he was an earl in Scotland, and the greatest warrior, he long harried about the Southern Isles. Olaf the son of Godred was then king in Man. These were kings in the Southern Isles, Dougal skræk and his brother Duncan, and their brother Somerled was then king. Then there was a brother of theirs named Ospak who was then with king Hacon. King Hacon fared in the autumn east to the Bay. And when the king came thither, Andrew shield-band the king's kinsman busked him to go out of the land, and meant to go to Jerusalem, and he went abroad by the straight palmers way, and nothing has ever been heard of him since. His wife Ingibjorg stayed behind, and Peter who was called their son; but then Ingibjorg said that earl Skuli was Peter's father, and the earl acknowledged his kinship, and took Peter into his house, and laid great love on him. That winter archbishop Thorir sent word to all the suffragan bishops that they should come in the summer north to meet him to Drontheim.

That winter the king sat in Oslo, and then in the winter he gave Ospak the title of king, and along with it the name of Hacon. Then the king laid it



bare before men, that he would give him force next summer. Then too came from the east out of the realm of the Swedes Magnus brock, the son of earl Canute, the king's kinsman. King Hacon took to him well, and Magnus stayed with the king a while, and they parted with much kindness. In the spring archbishop Thorir died. But in his stead was chosen Sigurd son of Eindrid pein, and he fared that summer out of the land. King Hacon fared in the spring north to Bergen, and when he came there he let a host be fitted out west across the sea; and when king Ospak and his companions were all but boun, then came to Bergen Olaf king of Man, and he had fled away before earl Flein? (Alan), when he was busking himself to harry on the Southern Islanders out of Scotland. King Olaf stayed four nights in the town. Then he got on shipboard with Paul Balki's son. They held on afterwards to the Orkneys, and when they sailed thence they had twenty ships. Then they sailed first south into Skye, and there they met Thorkell Thormod's son. The Northmen made an onslaught on him, and he fell there and two of his sons; afterwards they held on south round the Mull of Cantire, and in to Bute, and then they had came to meet Olaf and his men, Ospak's brothers Dougal and Duncan. And then they had in all seventy ships, and when they came to Bute many Scots sat there in the castle. They made an onslaught on the castle, and won it, but still they lost no fewer than three hundred men of the Northmen and the Southern Islanders. Then they heard that earl Flein (Alan) was south at Nesjar and had a hundred and fifty ships. Then king Ospak took a sickness . . .

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## APPENDIX.

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### A.—DUNSTAN'S SAGA.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Prologus.*

To all good men and faithful believers who may read or listen to this bookling, brother Arni Laurence-son sends everlasting greeting in our Lord Jesu Christ. Forasmuch as some men of good intent have begged me that I would put together in one story what I found in holy writings of the life and miracles of the blessed Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury; but because I know myself to be very unfit for such work, I have for a while set myself against doing this their will. Now so it is, that I have understood that forasmuch as these prayers arise from true goodwill to God and the holy bishop Dunstan, so I have compiled in the following story these adventures which have stood scattered in various books of the above-named friend of God, and our spiritual father Dunstan. I bid you all and every one that you listen to the following matter with godly humility, and excuse with patience though my choice of words be somewhat strange or repulsive, or not so clever as belongs to this splendid subject, attributing it more to the powerful worth of the glorious Dunstan the archbishop than to my words and utterance. For that he prays all the more

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<sup>1</sup> Compiled by Arni Laurence son, a Benedictine monk of Thingeyri, in Iceland, at the beginning

of the 14th century. (From Cod. Arn-Magn. 180 fol., a vellum MS. of the 15th century.)

for you to God as you yield him more honour and worship in supporting and listening to these few adventures which the story-tellers have made in his honour but for our gladness and spiritual profit, and left behind them in various books. First of all I will bring forth in Norwegian mother-tongue what belongs to this matter, declaring as follows:—

2. Forasmuch as we keep with solemn wakes and services the obit of the blessed archbishop Dunstan, on which we trust that he has departed from this deceitful life and sorrowful dale of outlawry to the land of living men, and their heavenly inheritance; therefore it befits us, dearest brothers, to stride on to the land of our Redeemer, walking in the footsteps of this blessed bishop with good works and spiritual joy. But because we are weighed down by our sins, as we believe, in our mortal body, we must bring together these things which we have found in praises and hymns and other holy writings of this confessor of God lord Dunstan, and with dangerous risk, setting them together as a ladder, and so hastening after this friend of God to climb up to the heavenly heights. First of all it is to be understood that he was begotten of men of great mark and of extraction fit for wordly dignities, honours, and wealth. But however renowned his family were for this world's power they were far richer in good habits and godly wisdom. His father and mother were so adorned with such sublime and holy life here on earth that after their death it was given to the holy Dunstan changed into his spiritual body to see them among the flock of angels in heaven, as the next chapter bears witness.

3. On a certain night as the holy Dunstan was nourishing himself for godly service with natural sleep, was his rational spirit drawn up by God's providence to heavenly visions. It seemed to him as



though a great court and solemn feast were being held in the halls of heaven. He understood that that was a bridal feast, and it seemed to him that his mother was the spouse of the highest king. It seemed to him, too, that many mighty chiefs and a countless host were at the feast in unspeakable joy and endless cheer. He saw there too his father enjoying himself with other henchmen of the king. He thought that all that hall resounded splendidly with hymns and praises of that king, and with organs and psalteries, and harps, and all kinds of sweet-sounding stringed instruments. As he considered these things he was glad at such rare cheer, and there came to him a young man in the brightest garb, saying thus: "Why, when all men are welcoming God and sweetly singing His praise, art thou alone silent in such an exalted bridal of thy mother, which binds her with indissoluble bonds to the heavenly bridegroom, at whose beauty the sun and stars mightily wonder?" Dunstan answered, saying, that he was not worthy to be able to sing in praise of such a lofty and mighty king of glory. That young man said: "Wilt thou that I shall teach thee what thou shalt sing?" Dunstan said he was fain to do that. Then the angel again said to him: "Sing this symphony after the words and pauses which I shall sing first:" *O rex gentium, dominator omnium, propter sedem majestatis tue da nobis indulgentiam, rex Christe, peccatorum. Alleluia.* But that is so rendered: "Hearken, thou Christ, king of nations, lord of all things, grant us indulgence for our sins for the sake of the seat of thy majesty, Halleluja." The holy Dunstan sang, and often repeated this antiphone which the angel of God had taught him, rejoicing much in the sweetness of the notes, and the splendour of the vision. When the holy Dunstan awoke he knew by heart the words

and tone of the said antiphone, letting it be written and sung in Holy Church, and gave earnest thanks to God as was worthy for this spiritual gift and joy that he felt when he beheld his parents among the band of angels singing sweetly God's praise. And the reason the tones of the said antiphone are not written here is that it is not sung in church.

4. When the mother of Saint Dunstan was with child, and she went with her blessed burden, it so happened once on a time, on Candlemass day, when she stood among other women taking hold of the living light like other people according as Holy Church is wont to do at the said feast of Our Lady—but that day is called in Greek *Ypapanti*, and that is interpreted in Latin *Representatio*, that we call offering, for on that day was God's mother offering in the Temple to God her blessed son, with those gifts which the law of Moses ordained—there was that portent that each man's light went out by God's pointing and order, without any wind or breath of men that any one knew. Now when all stood wondering mightily at this new thing of strange import, God was pleased to reveal what this token was meant to mark. By that he visits the mother of Saint Dunstan with heavenly fire, for that taper which she held was lit in the twinkling of an eye, and bore of itself a bright and clear light with bright flame. And when folk saw this mighty token, they all praised God properly, and each lighted as he pleased with joy his taper at this fire of the Holy Spirit which God sent from heaven to the mother of Saint Dunstan, standing there with the said light till the mass was over. By this adventure we may see, dearest brothers, that God had chosen and selected this baby-boy, while he was in his mother's womb, and ordained him a servant of everlasting light, that with the torch

of the faith he should light up the hearts of those men who grow cold, or are altogether quenched towards godly love.

*Twenty lines are here missing.*

5. . . . that gift. For that he sent before him on his way a great band of devilish spirits and companions in the likeness of dogs. As soon as they saw where their greatest foe was going, they all ran at him at once with gaping jaws and fearful howls, grimmer than lions or tigers, meaning to seize him at once alive and tear him to pieces, and so bear him with them home to Hell. But God's wisdom settles this another way; for as soon as Dunstan looks at the flock of devils which had covered and shrouded themselves with false garb and the bodies of dogs, they feel the great heat of his holiness and he made for them. And though unwitting of what would happen he cut at them with the twig he had in his hand; they flying and yelling with hideous noises, and were dragged down through the earth to the depths of Hell, the brimstone pit. Now when Dunstan comes to the monastery at Glastonbury he found the church locked. For that he went steadfastly to that scaffold which the church builder had raised up for his work, and there he got into the church from the outside of the thatch, and came thence to the dormitory of the brothers laying himself afterwards to sleep or night-rest, as though he did not know how it came about. In the morning after, when those brothers find him there safe and sound and in good case, they wonder very much, asking him in what way he had come thither, and how he had got his health. But the lad Dunstan had naught that he could find to answer but that he had lain down outside the cloister, in the lodging of the housewife who was spoken of before, feeble and sick, and almost at death's door; but forasmuch as God's providence willed that these wonders should be made

known to men to come as well as to those near at hand, she, the housewife whom we spoke of before, bore faithful witness of this heavenly token; for she had spread about as to the disappearance of Dunstan, and of each particular thing according as she heard them and saw them take place, as was said before. With such tokens as ye have now heard the Lord God adorned the youth of his chosen vessel Saint Dunstan; for just as his age of discretion grew, so also grew his worthiness in God's sight, as will still with God's will be spoken of further on in the Saga. This pure-lived lad so conducted his progress with God's mercy that he was acceptable to God and men. All wise men thought they understood by God's grace and the gift of the Holy Spirit that he would become a man of great mark both before God and man, as was best.

6. Though Saint Dunstan was a child of good stock and mighty men, yet he would be likened in this to God's apostles and the saintly chief-fathers to follow at whiles profitable and worldly work that the Fiend should not find him idle, bearing in mind what St. Paul says that he that will not . . . .  
*(Twenty lines are here missing)* given up to tutor and pedagogue, that is a keeper and guide. In the third a man is seriously brought up and obedient to his mother. In the fourth age he is the guardian of others and their leader. In the fifth age a man should leave games and childishness and betake himself to perfect habits. In the sixth, man's life turns to death and sorrow and much hatefulness and thorough loathing. Now when Saint Dunstan had come into the third age, which is hight *adolescencia*, and was spoken of before, he went away from the cloister at Glastonbury, where he had been worthily reared up from his tender childhood and kindly taught in all godly learning and manly wisdom,



for he had gone to school but not in monk's garb, betaking himself to the archbishop of Rouen whose name was Adelm, and who was the foster brother of St. Dunstan. The archbishop took to him well and worthily, having him in his service and domestic love. One time when he saw that this young man would be full of God's mercy, and had many marks of things in him which were yet to come, he placed him in the service of Athelstan, who was sole king over England whom Adelm had crowned and consecrated to be king. Dunstan became soon dear to the king and all his men, for he understood from his power of mind that he would be a very dear friend to God. But when king Athelstan fared forth on the universal death-path, his brother Edward took to rule the realm, who was the bravest knight in battle and very bold in arms. But after he became sole king over all England he set his whole heart on increasing and strengthening God's Christianity, and on honouring his servants. He went most in his rule after the promptings and counsel of Saint Dunstan and Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester, causing after their counsel and promptings many cloisters and churches to be restored out of the royal treasury, and built up . . . setting over some cloisters virtuous men to be abbots, and a countless flock to God's glory . . . he gathered together too pious and God-fearing monks, allowing them for table and clothing . . . his; so that this gathering of cloistermen might be for the service of God in the best and most honourable way . . . the cloister had food and all needful things got for them. The king visited the said monasteries . . . he should be father and governor of the monasteries, mercifully providing for their necessities. But his queen should visit the nunneries, and with the watchful anxiety of motherly care . . . those things which con-

cerned them, so that man should help man and woman woman tenderly without any bad suspicion. King Edward had a son who had the name of his father and was called Edward, but he had another son called Ethelred, he had him by a bad woman called Elfrida. But for that Edward was the elder and more virtuous of the two, and altogether better educated, and more like his father in all good works, he so disposed that this his son should take the kingdom after his day. And when Edward was dead and gone, Saint Dunstan, together with some other of his countrymen and good chiefs, chose (his successor). His son Edward was taken to be king according to his father's will and counsel. But then when the consecration was to be, some men of the land stood against it, holding with his brother Ethelred. But Saint Dunstan, who was then archbishop of Canterbury, stood steadfastly with his companions and held with Edward, and when he was to crown the king he grasped the holy banner of the Cross which was wont to be borne before him, and which belonged to the archbishop's rank in Kent, setting it down in the middle of the floor, and under that banner of God he resolutely consecrated the aforesaid Edward the young to be king in England with the counsel and consent and support of his brothers the bishops and some chiefs of the land, loving his son by consecration with fatherly affection so long as he lived; for from childhood Saint Dunstan had kept this boy under his masterhood, had both baptized him and taught him to love God and his righteousness before all other things, and loved him as his son in the flesh all up to his death.

7. Now when the young king Edward had ruled his realm well and righteously for three years and eight months, walking in the footsteps of his father in all God's service, tempering his dooms with mildness and

mercy after the counsel of Saint Dunstan, as is said in his Saga, the Fiend stirs his step-mother Elfrida with such envy and hatred that she thinks nights and days to slay him with a fearful death, and to cast her step-son Edward out of his realm, but she would have her son Ethelred to rule the kingdom, and she would exalt him to the utmost. She gets her wickedness so brought about that once when the king came to her abode with no follower to visit his brother aforesaid, for they loved one another very much and heartily, he came alone fore-doomed by her conspirators. And when the king had come there into their house, she goes before the king offering him a sweet kiss out of the poisonous breast of her devilish wickedness, as Judas Iscariot did to our Lord. And like that spotless lamb king Edward took peace from that God's dastard, for all at once she thrust through the king's belly with that knife which she the accursed one bore under her mantle, so that straightway his entrails fell out. This young and righteous foster-son of Saint Dunstan went with such a martyr's victory to God according as the story of his martyrdom bears such full witness. His body rests in England in the nunnery which is called Uistor? where God works for his worthiness many miracles.

8. King Edward the Elder, of good memory, of whom we spoke before, promoted and elevated Saint Dunstan to many worldly dignities, setting him as the father and ruler over the cloister at Glastonbury, where Dunstan had been formerly bred up in God's service according as has been already said; for in that time the kings in England ruled and settled and let bishops be consecrated to bishop's sees, and abbots and other ecclesiastics to cloisters. This lawlessness and evil habit was maintained in all Christian England until Saint Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, bought splendidly with

his death-blood that freedom which the Church ought to have by right by God's law over such things, which caused discord between him and king Henry. When Saint Dunstan had become a monk and consecrated abbot over the said monastery, he instructed and improved the brothers who were under him, teaching them to serve God with all purity of soul and body. But though he had in his mind gain to God steadily in their behaviour, he worked so nobly with merciful . . . . . making them so bright and pure in God's service as a cunning goldsmith purifies . . . gold and silver, to virtuous and good works; for that just as the taper of his mother when she was . . . from that taper alone all the tapers of the men who were in the church were kindled, so . . . . . were scattered over Dunstan himself, and from that cloister spread over all England . . . . . from the holy morals and godly wisdom of St. Dunstan (*sic*).

9. After king Edward the younger lost his life, his brother Ethelred, son of the bad queen and woman . . . . death of his brother, for he was thoroughly pure and shareless in that bad deed which his mother had wrought, as we said before, on the aforesaid martyr. And once when the lad was weeping bitterly for his dead brother . . . . his mother seized a taper and beat the boy very hardly with it, for it was the nearest thing at hand, stopping thus his tears and moaning. After that he took such a loathing to tapers, and they were so hateful to him that he would never look at them or have them burnt before him. And when this boy was born, then Saint Dunstan, sitting in his closet and thinking on godly things, heard the voices of angels aloft sweetly singing as he listened, "Peace to the Church of the Angles from " the child now born in the days of our Dunstan."



That boy was this King Ethelward (Ethelred?), for he was peaceful and righteous, mild and merciful towards all good men, when it was needed.

10. It so happened that an archbishop hight Elfege was called to God from that see named Winton Saint Dunstan was chosen for the bishop, picked out by all good men. But he would not agree to the choice. One night there appeared to him as he slept three of God's apostles, Peter, Paul, and Andrew, giving him the apostolic blessing, and each offering him his sword and the Holy Ghost's . . . . but that may be interpreted God's word and episcopal preaching. And when they had all hailed him with God's blessing and greeting, he heard Saint Andrew the apostle say, with cheerful face, these Gospel words to him, "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, " for I am mild and lowly of heart." But the blessed Peter had a palmatorium. Like a schoolmaster he bade Saint Dunstan stretch out his hand, and as he stretched forth his palm, as a dutiful pupil, he gave him such a stroke that it rattled again, speaking thus:—"This shall be thy punishment for that thou " hast refused to be bishop of Winton, and this shall " be a sign to thee that thou shouldst not dare to do " this when thou art prayed to such-like honours." With this stroke Saint Dunstan awakes, giving God many thanks for the high honour which he had done him in sending his apostles before worldly chiefs and judges, being . . . . . for that he understood from the vision that it must be God's will that he become bishop of Winton, and he consented without delay to the said choice and was afterwards consecrated at the proper time with all honour and pomp by his . . . . and was installed bishop of Winton. But after some years he resigned his bishop's see, and was set by king Edgar as the father and overseer over bishops' sees . . . . Worcester

and another London, shining brightly for some years in a twofold episcopal dignity before all other bishops in England at that time. In that time those things happened that an archbishop died whose name was Oddr? and fell from his arch-see. Then Saint Dunstan was taken and chosen by laymen and clerks in England to be archbishop, and by God's will installed in Kent. But when Saint Ethelvold, bishop of Winton, the pupil and foster-son of Saint Dunstan, had passed away from the world, Saint Andrew the apostle appeared to St. Dunstan in a vision, bidding him take there for a bishop in his stead an abbot, hight Elfege, who was named before.

11. But when Saint Dunstan had become archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, he adorned all the more his life by all kinds of miracles, for that he was set by God in a higher state than others . . . . . for as he was pre-eminent to others in his leadership, he added to that a holy zeal to be before others in wisdom and virtuous behaviour; for often appeared to him God's angels and saints, as was said before. Thrice the Holy Spirit appeared to him in likeness of a dove, in the same way as it appeared to John the Baptist when he baptized him (the Lord) in Jordan. We think though that a little part is written in this bookling of the many tokens and wonders which God has wrought for the worth of Saint Dunstan. But still we have gathered together the foremost things that we have found about him.

12. A certain earl in England had betrothed and taken to his wife and sole spouse one of his own kindred. But Saint Dunstan reminded him oft with fatherly kindness that he should give up the woman, and not live in whoredom and ruin of kin. But for that he took little heed of his fatherly warnings and exhortation then Saint Dunstan though un-

willingly drew the archbishop's sword out of its sheath and smote this limb of the Devil with . . . . . altogether from God's body and partaking in Holy Church, never caring for his power or might. . . . . When the archbishop had done this he (the earl) fared with all speed to see king Edgar . . . . . Saint Dunstan how sternly he had behaved to him, and begged that he would . . . . . As the king besought absolution for the earl, and still went on begging, he got this answer . . . . . "Be it far from me," he says, "that I should so despise God's law as to absolve any man that is under a ban for the prayer or craving of any worldly prince." When the earl heard this steadfast answer which the archbishop made to the king, that he would not yield to his prayer, he took other counsel more helpful to himself, for God's mercy incensed him to softness and true repentance and amends. For that he put off his usual attire, putting on woollen clothes, and went to see Saint Dunstan barefoot, scourging himself with that rod which he bore with him, and fell at the feet of St. Dunstan, as he sat in an episcopal court with a great company begging him to forgive him, lowly and little, with great repentance and humility, wishing rather to suffer blushing with Mary Magdalene before the world's crowd than everlasting shame at doomsday before God's throne and all saintly men. He found then the archbishop mild and merciful, as was fitting, and was then absolved from the penalty of the ban, as God's laws bid.

13. At one time three mint-masters were seized who had debased the coining of money, and, having been clearly convicted of this crime, had been sentenced to that penalty which is laid down and prescribed by English law, that their feet and hands should be cut off for their wicked deeds. When

Saint Dunstan was ware of this he asked afterwards before he went to mass on Whitsunday itself whether the sentence had been executed on the said malefactors. He was told that for the sake of that high-day there was delay in the punishment, and it was put off till the day after. Saint Dunstan answered, "That shall not be in nowise; I will not go to the altar to offer to God the Father life-offerings before these men have been taken from life and have got due punishment according to God's laws, for it belongs to us to look after this work of execution." Those men were under the archbishop's power in Kent. Now when the archbishop's justices and those who had worldly power by right in their hands which belonged to those barons, heard and understood the archbishop's will, they let without delay on the said high day those miscreants be beheaded? according to their sentence; which St. Dunstan soon hearing he went afterwards gladly to the holy altar, saying thus: "Now I trust thoroughly that my Lord God will accept my offerings, and look down on them from His high seat." He went glad to say mass, shedding forth many heartfelt tears in God's presence, praying with true piety for the fore-named forgers; showing thus that he did this more for his zeal for the law and for an example to others than because he was glad at the penalty of the condemned; as God himself bore witness to him, for in the second chaunt, as he said these words, "*ecclesiam tuam pacificare, etc.*," the Holy Ghost in the usual likeness of a snow-white dove (*gallan*)? hovered down over the archbishop in the sight of men, spreading out its wings over the archbishop continually, and sitting there quietly till the mass was done. But as he went into the sanctuary to put off his robes there was much talking among the clerks about this portent and the strange sight of the Holy Ghost, so that there was



no one near him at the moment when he threw back his cope to take it from him. Then God showed another miracle to him for his worth, for when the archbishop let go the cope and no one was by to take it, it hung in the air against all likelihood, so that it never touched ground, until the serving men came, that the man of God might (not) be touched or disturbed by it in his devotion. It was only likely that God would not that that robe should come to the ground or fall down on the dusty floor which such a holy man had borne and consecrated very often with our Lord's body.

14. One time when St. Dunstan went about to look after his duty, and to better the habits of men, and to do other episcopal functions, he came to a thorpe to consecrate a church for God's service, after the prayer of a mighty baron who had built it. And when all things needful which belonged to the consecration were brought together and come thither, water was not so plentiful as was needed, wherefore when Dunstan saw that the burgesses mocked and were cross with his serving men, then he turned with few words his thought to God, and struck down with his pastoral staff on the church floor. Then all at once burst up the clearest spring with a fair head of water up to this day, and makes famous St. Dunstan's name. Another church St. Dunstan consecrated when he thought it did not point as much as he thought it ought to the East. Then he went to the church wall, thrusting it by little and little with his shoulders and blessed body, so turning (the church) by miraculous power more than by his bodily strength, so completely towards the eastward as he thought it ought. Thus was proved in this adventure what our Lord says in the gospel to his disciples, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, and ye should say to a mountain, Be thou removed and cast into the sea." Then it would

happen of a truth. It is also said that for the sake of his zeal for holy truth and God's law St. Dunstan had suffered from wicked men some persecution, and was driven wrongfully from his bishop's see, and chased into cruel outlawry. But that God, who never deserts those who love Him, comforted thus the blessed bishop by the presence of saintly men where he was in exile, for often God sent His holy men to support him, and for gladsome conversation, and especially God revealed to him there Saint Andrew the apostle, as was before said.

15. Now for that we have gone over those things which we have found God had done for the worthiness of the blessed Dunstan while he was in his mortal body, then we must now tell of his death and holy departure to heaven in this fashion as here follows.

A certain clerk, Alvernus by name, precentor of Canterbury church, who was wiser than all men in England in music and all kinds of clerkship, has written of the decease and departure of Saint Dunstan in such like words, so saying. At a certain time, just when the high feast of the Lord's Resurrection was coming on, Saint Dunstan after lauds was alone in the town of the cathedral of Kent, there he saw a countless band of snow-white men, bearing in their hands shining crowns, rushing into the church with inconceivable light, standing in a circle round him, and hailing him in this wise, so saying as with one man's voice, "Hail thou, our Dunstan; the Son of God greets thee whom thou lovest with true love and cheerful desire; he bids thee, if thou art ready, to come and keep solemnly this his festival with us, to whose bliss thou art eager to fare." At this vision Saint Dunstan was quite calm, and asked who they might be. They answered, "We are Cherubin and Seraphin, give us a plain answer what thou wishest to do." Saint Dunstan answers, "To-day is a great feast, and

“ it is my duty to feed the people with the bread of  
“ Heaven, and show them how they should come to  
“ the joy of this feast. And for that will much folk  
“ here in Kent come together. It is no part of my  
“ duty to cheat them, and that is why I am not ready  
“ at once to go with you.” Then the forenamed band  
Cherubin and Seraphin spoke to blessed Dunstan.  
“ For a surety thou wilt be ready next Saturday to  
“ fare with us to Rome and sing everlastingly Sanctus,  
“ Sanctus, Sanctus, before the highest bishop.” To  
this the archbishop agreed, but the angels left him  
at once. Now when the morning came and the gospel  
is read in the mass, the archbishop stood up on a  
pulpit as usual, talking so cleverly and devoutly before  
the people, that he had never preached so well before ;  
afterwards he turned back to the altar, and the service  
of the mass went on, but when it was come to the  
blessing he came a second time from the altar and  
preached again before the people, so that all thought  
it was rather one of God’s angels than a mortal man  
who had spoken. Then he went back again to the  
altar, and when the benediction was given to the  
people he began to preach a third time. But as soon  
as he opened his mouth his countenance and colour  
shone with such brightness that no man could look  
at him. He told them then that his death-day was  
drawing near quickly, declaring before the people that  
though he was parting from them in the body he  
would be ever near them in the spirit. The arch-  
bishop then went again back to the Lord’s board to  
partake of the bodily dainties, the flesh and blood of  
our Lord Jesus Christ. But after the mass, just as  
he left the board, he showed his men and settled the  
spot where he wished them to bury his body in the  
earth. And after that was done a great sickness seized  
him, and at first slow and gently. But on the Friday  
after the Resurrection, his sickness increasing, he took

to his bed, and said to all that he saw that they should tread in Christ's footsteps, and lay all their hearts on God and love Him before all else, and do His will in all their pursuits. Now when Saturday came, on which Saint Dunstan was to be ready to go with Cherubin and Seraphin, as was before told, the holy father Dunstan took the Lord's service which is called the helpful provision of travellers, having thereto a sure shield against ghostly enemies which flutter up aloft. And as he awaited gladly his last hour, and still steadfastly, the bed with him in it was lifted up to the upper part of the house till it touched the rafters, but afterward it was let down gently with all the bedclothes. This went on a second and a third time that the archbishop and his bed were gently lifted up to the cross-beams, and each time carefully let down. After that Saint Dunstan commended himself into the hand of God, and that Christianity which he had given him to rule, and had put into his hand, absolving the people with apostolic authority from all their sins, giving them his blessing with much love, and with it the kiss of peace at the last parting, and so speaking to those who stood round, "Now ye see, dearest brothers and sons, whither I am called, and if ye wish to come with me into the same lodging, then go on the way that I am going, and which I have shown you. But may the same God which calls me to Himself heal your hearts and guide in peace your bodies to do His will." And as all those who stood by said, "Amen," Saint Dunstan gave up unto God's might, and with the sublime fellowship of the foresaid band of angels, Cherubin, and Seraphin, his fleckless soul, which is now in bliss with God in unspeakable joy without end in the heavenly Jerusalem. Amen.

16. So say English Saga-writers that on the morning before the said Saturday after matins Saint



Dunstan let be gathered together and called to him all of monkish life and convents in Kent, praying them to pray for him to God, he saying these words after thanksgiving and our Lord's supper and praising God in these last words of God or of King David.

*"Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum misericors et miserator escam dedit timentibus se . . . . ."*

Between these words they say that he gave up his saintly soul into God's keeping, adding thereto that, when his blessed soul had gone out of his bodily lodging, they heard many of them up in the air such a funeral song which the angels offered in that way with sweet sounds to the Holy Trinity for his soul, so uttering *Kirieleison* according as it is now sung in all Christian lands, and many men call it "Dunstan's-kirie." Thus the good bishop passed in such wise into the everlasting glory of his Lord, one equal to the patriarchs and prophets, for God made him fit here in this worldly life to be prophetic and conscious of many things yet to come in heaven. And for that he is thought to be their equal and ally in their tale because he had apostolic power in God's church, and ruled it after God's laws. Therefore he lives with Christ, gladding himself everlastingly in the apostolic train of heavenly elders. Saint Dunstan has not been robbed of the martyrs victory and fellowship, but rather is perpetually bound up with them for that he beautifully strove to be God's offering by the daily and willing martyrdom of monkish life. For the Holy Scriptures prove that martyrdom consists of other things than bloodshed in the band of confessors. He was worthy to be God's inheritor because for all his days he stood a faithful servant, steadfast in asserting the Holy Trinity and universal faith. This holy God's friend Dunstan lived here on earth like God's angels in heaven. He shone too bright as the sun in a flock

of maidens, for he was good keeper of everlasting purity; was always chaste, and the cleanest lad and virgin in God's presence. Saint Dunstan blossomed with fair miracles and shone in England, and at first abbot of Glastonbury as is said before, afterwards bishop in Winton, and quickly after that he was archbishop in Canterbury, of much power and mercy before God. But when twelve years less than ten hundred had passed from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, and when he had been archbishop in Canterbury thirty and three years, according as that master says who has composed the *Speculum Historiale*—but there had passed since the birth of holy Dunstan seventy years in all—then his blessed spirit passed from his body, faring away from the exile of this world and sordid dale of sorrow to a heavenly inheritance in the land of Paradise. To this bliss and eternal glory which God has laid up may he lead and call us, for his mildness and mercy and for the powerful worth of the glorious archbishop Dunstan the living son of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and Son and Holy Ghost lives and rules for all ages. Amen.

17. Now when Saint Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, had passed from this world to eternal life, as was before shown, that person was consecrated to be archbishop in Kent whose name was Lanfrank. But on some feast-day, when the aforesaid archbishop chaunted the mass at home at his arch-see in Kent, it so fell out that a young brother had the gospel and he bore the paten to the archbishop and afterwards he saw the wrathful aspect of hellish negroes there close to the altar. At this sight he was very afraid and struck with dread, and he grasped at the archbishop; but he, holding God's body and clutching it very strongly between his arms, with a loud voice fearfully shouting, and so saying uttered these words:

*“Christus regnat, Christus vincit, Christus imperat,”* which is interpreted so: “Christ rules, Christ conquers, Christ commands.” All those who heard were sore afraid, but that brother was borne senseless after the mass by some knights into the private study of the archbishop. After that the brothers were called together to the chapter, and that mad brother, strongly bound, was brought before them. Lord Lanfrank preaches the sermon, and preaches for the mad brother, and all others, and begs that they shall all pray for the mad brother. And when all the brothers were gathered into the town, and they had prayed awhile, he became whole, as it seemed to all, of the said affliction; next of all he was led to the tomb of Saint Dunstan the archbishop to give manifold thanks to God for the cure he had got. But when the brothers were at evensong the witless brother was dragged out of his seat and dashed up against the prior, whose name was Henry, but the prior raised him up and led him to bed. But about midnight he calls out and makes much trouble to the brothers. He was then again led to the grave of St. Dunstan, though it was hard work, for he stood fast against it with all his strength. Now when he came there he loosed all the reins of his madness, and spews out of him all till morning countless words of blasphemy against our Lord Jesus Christ and his bosom-friend Dunstan, each of which had been dictated by that wicked dastard who had taken up his abode with him, and had taken by force this God's creature. In the morning he was borne into the infirmary, that is the lodging of sick men, and there he was treated for many days, but whatsoever man came there to him and stood before him with his chief sins unconfessed, then he (the mad brother) revealed to each one their wickedness unatoned with that proof and fashion as it had befallen; so that

each might recognise his mark, and he said that they would be coupled with him in the next world with endless pangs. Many men believed these his words, and shrove themselves without delay quickly and parted from those sins that they had, and which they had concealed, with true piety and repentance. And when ever they came to see him a second time, he knew them not, and asked who they were, and whence they had come, and how it was they had so quickly cleansed and washed themselves, given up the companionship, and torn it asunder. From such things every wise man may mark how needful is confession, and what power it has in God's eye, and how it blots out our sins from the records of eternal condemnation, which the Devil perpetually renews by our ill-deeds. Confession atones us and binds us to Almighty God, and separates us from the Devil and the company of bad men. Now for that the mad brother was placed among many of those halidoms which were in the cathedral of Kent, he was filled with such force and strength of the Devil that he springs up and seizes the bed on which he lay, meaning to fly from the power of God and of those men who rested at Canterbury, and as he was so kept prisoner there, he, the brother feels in his belly that the Devil is very restless in his body, and jumps up and down in his belly about the size of a small puppy, and wished to get out, sometimes by the mouth and sometimes by the back way, and finds that all the gates of his body are so strongly barred that therefore he cannot stir out of his lodging. After that the brothers go to table, but one good and righteous brother was left with him in the church. He was very pious in his services and in all honour to Saint Dunstan. Therefore he takes St. Dunstan's cross which he let be borne before him when he was here on earth, and laid it over the Devil-mad brother,



trusting in God and the holy man's worthiness, and called out loud with tears, so saying: *Sancte Dunstane, succurre!* but that is so interpreted, "Saint " Dunstan, help." When the Devil, who was in the likeness of a puppy, heard where he was the name of St. Dunstan, he rushes quickly headlong and finds a fitting exit, for he goes with shame and disgrace right through the most loathsome gate of his belly, and at the posteriors of him, the brother. Now when the brother finds that his master has gone out from the dismal cave of his belly, he lifts up his eyes to heaven and utters these words with a great shower of tears, saying thus: "I thank thee, holy " father Dunstan, and thee my most loving brother, " for that by thy powerful worth my sweet lord " Dunstan, and by thy loving prayer, my dear brother, I am well freed from the power of my " foes." All who saw these wonders and heard of them praised God and his bosom friend the glorious archbishop Dunstan.

18. After this it so happened that a bishop of that city which is hight Bayeux, and who had before been earl in Canterbury, touched on certain books and made nonsensical charges against archbishop Lanfrank, and claimed certain lands of the Church. Now when the day for the archbishop and the above-named earl to appear in court and Parliament to talk over their business, the archbishop called on St. Dunstan to intercede for him. On that same night the archbishop saw the blessed Dunstan standing over him in his sleep, saying thus: "Hearken, Lanfrank, do not be " disturbed in thy heart, I will be with thee and " strengthen thee. But if thou conquerest thy opponents to-morrow, know then that it is I, Dunstan, " and no other that speaks to thee." The morning after, when archbishop Lanfrank came to the appointed meeting, he destroyed with wise proofs and such

sharp reasoning all the silly assertions of his enemies that all those who were by wondered mightily at his eloquence and splendid delivery. From that he got in these pleadings honour and glory, but his foes shameful contempt and fitting disgrace. *Amen, finem habemus.*

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## B.—ICELANDIC ANNALS, A.D. 1392-1430.

*Explanation of the punctuated Paschal letters.*

1. With the point *after* the letter :—b.=22nd of MARCH; c.=23rd; d.=24th; e.=25th; f.=26th; g.=27th; h.=28th; i.=29th; k.=30th; l.=31st; m.=1st of APRIL; n.=2nd; o.=3rd; p.=4th; q.=5th; r.=6th; s.=7th; t.=8th; v.=9th.

2. With the point *before* the letter :—a.=10th of APRIL; .b.=11th; .c.=12th; .d.=13th; .e.=14th; .f.=15th; .g.=16th; .h.=17th; .i.=18th; .k.=19th; .l.=20th; .m.=21st; .n.=22nd; .o.=23rd; .p.=24th; .q.=25th.

The coming out of Lord Peter, bishop of Holar, A.D. 1392. in Peters-bowl; the ship was dashed to pieces between Krysivik and Grindavik; the crew were saved, but all the money was lost. The bishop came home to Holar before the feast of St. Michael, and all clerks and laymen yielded him obedience. No more ships came from Norway to Iceland. That autumn ten ships meant in the summer to sail out from Bergen. A bad year for voyages in shipwrecks and foul winds, both with Germans, English, and Norwegians. Many cogs were wrecked off Norway. Great rain in the north land in Iceland. gf .e

The church at Holar and the steeple fell down all at once the fourth day of Yule. A deacon died in the church. 1393.  
e .r

The coming out of lord Wilkin bishop safe and sound. He chaunted the first mass at the Exaltation of Holy Cross at home in Skalbolt. There was a feast at the bishop's bidding so famous that no one thought he had ever seen such a feast before in 1394.  
d .k

Iceland for the number of the guests and all kind of cost. Peter lord bishop of Holar was there and all the choicest men from the north, west, and south of Iceland. This feast lasted well seven nights. It was so splendidly served that each might drink what he best liked both night and day. And this is a proof of it, that the great room had three rows of seats with space between them filled with chief men. And nothing was drunk there but German ale, and after that dearer ale.

1395.  
c. b.

Obit of priest Sæmund Thorstein's son in the Firths on Easter Day itself, at that time in the morning when the crosses were put up, A.D. M.ccc.xc°.v°. *anno ætatis sue* 66. He had been a remarkable man, steady and virtuous, and the freest of all men. He would never ask power or authority from the bishops in difficulty or soul-risk. He lies right before the church at Hof in Vopnafirth. He kept the church in the most proper manner.

1396.  
ba n.

Lord Wilkin the bishop rode to the Eastfirths on visitation.

1396.  
ba n.

Lord Wilkin the bishop rode to the Eastfirths.<sup>1</sup> Thord Arni's son killed in the Westman Isles, guiltless, by outlandish chapmen, who made the land there, and they made there many other great assaults.

1398.  
f. s.

Paul Gadd Gudmund's son beheaded, for that he wounded John the freeman Hacon's son with a contused wound as he rode to the Thing; he fled into the church at Eid in Fliotsdale district, and was afterwards taken thence in this wise. He was carried out of the church as he slept; that was done by men in disguise, and they were not recognised by the people. He was taken to the north of the land and beheaded in Hunawater Thing. He made many offers before to save his life, but the Northerners would

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<sup>1</sup> A repetition from the preceding year?



not accept them, for no one could trust to have him hanging over his head.

John the excellent slain in Borgarfirth by Gunlaug Magnus' son and his ten servants.

1399.  
e k

Gunlaug the freeman the son of Magnus beheaded at Reykholt in Borgarfirth, because he gave John the excellent a wound from which he got his death; and many other accusations were brought against him for hamesucken and other hard dealings with the farmers when he held the king's stewardship over them. Item two of his servants were there beheaded with him, one's name was Thorstein and the other's Björn. In that same month the third was beheaded, whose name was Sigfus, and he was enticed out of the church at Bæ in Borgarfirth. May God have all their souls.

1400.  
de i

The coming out of dame Solveig Thorstein's daughter in Waterfirth, whom Björn Einar's son had to wife, in that ferry-ship which he himself let be built, going halves with the church at Skalholt. She came out safe and sound.

1401.  
b o.

The Kana-boat was wrecked east off the Side; many men were lost, and most part of the goods. The coming out of lord Wilkin in the Eastfirths safe and sound. Item came out Whale-Einar son of Herjolf in that ship which he himself owned. He came out there in such a time of sudden sickness that men lay dead within three nights, until three praise-masses were vowed with fitting prayers and burning of tapers. Item dry fasts were vowed before Candlemass and water fasts before Yule for ever. After that most got confession and shrift ere they died. The sickness spread south in the autumn with so much terror that farms were laid waste far and wide, but the folk could not keep themselves that lived through it in many places. Sira Ali Swarthhead's son was the first of the clergy that died in the autumn, and afterwards

1402.  
a f.

brother Grim church-priest in Skalholt. Afterwards the resident priests one after the other, Sira Höskuld the manager on Christmas Day itself. The town was at once robbed of clerks and laymen, except the bishop himself and two laymen.

1403  
g. f

The great year of deaths in Iceland. The obit of Paul bishop of Videy, and lord Thorstein of Helgafell. The obit of lord Runolf of Thykkaby and six brothers, but six others were left alive. The obit of Haldora abbess in Kirkeby and seven sisters, but six were left alive. Lady Gudrun Haldor's daughter was consecrated abbess. The cloister was desolated thrice of all its man folk, so that at last those that were left of the sisters milked the kine, and were able to do little in that way, as was likely as they had never done such work before. There came there to the church six hundred and forty dead bodies that were counted, but afterwards they were not reckoned, there were so many that died beside. Item in the same years the cloister at Thykkaby was robbed of its man folk thrice over, so that none were left but two brothers and one house-carle of the convent, and he brought in food for them and those who came thither. Obit of Thorstein abbot of Helgafell, and of Gisli Swart's son of Reykhólur, John Guttorm's son at Hvamm, and Thord under the Nup, and Paul son of Thorvard, from Eid east, and Cecilia Thorstein's daughter his wife. Item that same year there was this portent north in Helgeland in Norway, that a Finn who was called Fedming lay out on a hillside for whole three years like a dead man; there by him lay his bow and his quiver of arrows, and neither beasts nor birds touched him all that time. Afterwards he rose up and lived many years. Lord Arni Olaf's son was there that same year.

1404.  
fe k.

Man's deathwinter the later. Then the see at Skalholt was again robbed thrice of its serving men.

There died there then three priests and most part of the clerks. Two priests were left alive, brother Thorfinn the church-priest, and Thorarin Andrew's son, a priest who was then chaplain of the bishop lord Wilkin. Lord Askeil consecrated to be archbishop in Drontheim. He chaunted first of men in the feast of St. Andrew apostle at home in Drontheim; brother Arni Olaf's son was then there with Hacon Sigurd's son, who afterwards was bishop in Skalholt.

The great snow winter. There was such loss on the hills of horses and sheep south in the land that men hardly remembered the like. The see of Skalholt had in the autumn three hundred grown horses and numberless three-year olds and younger; but in spring no more pack-bearing horses were in the town, and all its dwellings above the heath, than thirty-five, besides four and twenty horses which the bishop himself, Lord Wilkin, owned apart in some places, and which grazed on Horse-fell in the winter. Sera Odd John's son, who then held Breidabolstad in Fljotslithe, took the management in Skalholt, but Sera Vigfus Thorbjorn's son gave it up. Three officials were set over Skalholt's bishoprick Lord Vermund, abbot from Helga-fell, over the Westfirths quarter to Botsnar; Sera Odd John's son, beforenamed, over the Southlanders quarter east to Lomagnups Sand; Sera Thorarin Andrew's son over the Eastfirthingers quarter north to Helkunda heath. So it stood for three years. The going out abroad of bishop Wilkin and Bjorn Einar's son out of Whalefirth. The bishop had already consecrated brother Bjarni . . . . son to be abbot in Videy. They put to sea out of Whalefirth. There also sailed with them Narfi Swein's son the lawman from the east and south in Iceland. Item there sailed with the bishop brother John Halfrid's son. The marriage of Thorleif Arni's son and Christina Bjorn's daughter in

1405.  
d.k.

Videy done with much cost. Vigfus the freeman, Ivar's son, the governor over all Iceland, presided at the feast. Obit of lord Wilkin, bishop of Skalholt, of venerable memory. He lies in Bergen. Bjorn Einar's son, the freeman, took the best care he could of his funeral. Over his grave stood seven suffragan bishops and lord Askell, archbishop of Drontheim. He was a very useful man for building and other things. He let the tower be built out to the Brothers, when he was prior there, and many other buildings. He let also the steeple be built in Skalholt up from the ground; he enshrined also St. Thorlak's head with clear silver, and laid it himself there out in his hallidom, with the skull whole and unbroken. He brought out also our Lady's image the less in Mary's Chapel, and set Olaf's image before the choir in Skalholt, and one German table which he gave besides to the church. Item he let be made in Kirkeby proper curtains round all the great rooms, so that none before were ever so stately, and held all the cost and gave them to the church. Item he gave to it stately mass-robcs, with all furniture and dalmaticks, which have been used at cross-masses ever since, for he said the first mass when he came into the land on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, as was said before. He had also a buss built for the see in Norway, which was called Bishops-buss. She was always a good sailor, as was to be looked for. He paid also all the old debts of the see, so that in his day the church was out of debt. A great remission in token of his sins. Brother Arni Olaf's son was there then with his housewife, Sigrid Erlend's daughter, and was set up as penitentiary of all Norwegians. There (in Rome?) he saw the shift of our Lady and the swaddling clothes of our Lord, and a belt and a towel of John the Baptist. In that city which is called Affrica he saw the hilt of the sword of Sigurd Fofnirs-bane, and it



was measured for him ten feet long, but the guard? of copper was one span long across? There was also a tooth said to be out of Starkad the old; it was a hand's breadth in length and breadth, besides that which had entered the flesh.

King Eric of Norway is married. He got Philippa, the daughter of Henry king of England. Their bridal was in Denmark. That year Björn the freeman, the son of Einar, went away out of the land and his housewife Solveig. They fared first to Rome, and thence back to Venice. There they went on ship-board, and so sailed out over the sea to Jewry-land to our Lord's sepulchre. There they parted afterwards. The wife fared back to Norway, but the husband fared west to Compostella to Saint James; there he lay sick half a month. Thence he fared in across France, and so in to Flanders. Thence in to England to Canterbury. After that back to Norway. That year they fared to Greenland, Thorstein Helming's son, Snorri Torfi's son, and Thorgrim Sölvi's son in one ship. They put out from Norway and meant to go to Iceland. They were there (in Greenland) three winters. Eight men were drowned out of one ship in Norway on lake Mjösen. There was out with them one woman called Sigrid, and she was with child. On the third day from that on which she was drowned she was found and brought to the church; on the fourth day she was made ready for the grave; and on the brink of the grave men saw that something stirred in her winding-sheet. Then they sprung up and there a new-born babe was found, and it cried. Then the bairn was christened by the priest and died on the spot, and was buried there with its mother.

Those great tidings happened in England that the worthy lord Richard, archbishop of York, was beheaded with guileful treachery, a thoroughly holy friend of God. That same year a man was burnt in

1406.  
c. B.

1407.  
b. g.

Greenland hight Kolgrim, for that sake that he lay with a man's wife hight Steinun, daughter of Hrafn the lawman who perished in the landship north in Longlithe. Thorgrim Solvi's son then had her to wife. This man (Kolgrim) got her good will by black arts; he was afterwards burnt according to his sentence. The woman was never afterwards of a quiet mind, and she died in a short time. The obit of Erlend the freeman, Phillip's son of Oslo, who has been the most remarkable man among the freemen in all Norway for the sake of many things; for he would never become a knight, though the king himself offered it to him; he put more faith also on Icelanders than on other Northern men, and had them always in his service. The obit of Hacon Sigurd's son of Giski, who has been the best-born man in Norway on all sides, and the least ambitious and the best behaved in most matters. Bishop Aslak consecrated to Oslo, but queen Margaret set him up in Bergen and sent bishop James to Oslo; for she gave him the better bishoprick as he was Dansk.

1408.  
ag.f.

The coming out of bishop John, who had been abbot in the monastery at Bergen. He chaunted his first mass on the Nativity of the glorious Virgin at home in Skulholt, the most seemly feast was then prepared. Vigfus the freeman Ivar's son, steward over all Iceland presided, at it. Sira Oddr resigned his benefice, the church at Breidabolstead, but the bishop gave it to Thorarinn Andrew's son, but Sira Oddr held the living till the next fitting days with its emoluments.

1409.

Lord John began his visitation ride; first north to Holar as he had promised. The Northlanders made fitting cheer with peculiar good will. Thorleif Andrew's son feasted the bishop with most fame as to kindness and cost at home at Audbreck. So the bishop rode to the Eastfirths and from the east south.

There was a shift of managers that autumn in Skalholt ; Sira Odd gave it up, and Sira Gudmund Thorstein's son took to it about the feast of Michaelmas, but he quitted his management at Yuletide next winter after at the bidding of bishop John. Sira Vigfus Thorbjörn's son took to the management. Men thought these changes of management showed much unsteadiness on the part of the bishop ; for no blame was laid openly on Sira Gudmund but praise.

Lord Abraham beheaded by king Eric's order for nine manifest accusations of murder proved and sentenced. The bridal of Gisli Andrew's son and Gudrun Styr's daughter. Snorri Doverson her husband was then alive and had been four years in Greenland. That year they sailed away from Greenland, Thorstein Helming's son, and Thorgrim Sölvi's son, and Snorri Torfi's son, and others of their shipmates, to Norway, but those Svauskir ? (Swedish ?) men were left behind. Fifty Spittal brothers (Hospitallers) were beheaded out of one ship to the south of Bergen. Olaf Peter's son died. Then mistress Sigrid Erlend's daughter, whom Hacon the freeman the son of Sigurd had to wife, was married to Magnus Magnus's son, a well-born Swedish man. Queen Margaret made this marriage for that he had served her before. He was a poor fellow at that time. And their wedding was at Oslo. The queen was there then, and many other great people. Brother Arni Olaf's son became chaplain to Magnus, and stayed then still at Giski.

1410  
e.c.

The obit of priest Thorstein Andrew's son, who had more friends than any man, and best seen by the whole people in the Eastfirths. He was drowned in Gilsa in Fljotsdale. He had then Hallormstad for many years. The Oddi business. The living at Oddi was taken away by sentence from Sira Vigfus by the grace of bishop John, and all his goods by (a jury of)

1411.  
d.c.

twelve priests. Item he was sentenced to go to the curia (at Rome) to obtain absolution. The out-coming of Bjorn Einar's son the freeman in Therney-sound safe and well; he had laid up the winter before in Shetland.

1412.  
cb o.

The slaying of Einar Herjolf's son. He was stabbed to death with a knife on Resurrection day in the churchyard at Skumstead. In the Westman isles the Swallow-ship was lost about Thingtime. There were out in her well nigh 140 souls. Thirteen came alive to land, and four of them died there. Their ship was broken so far out at sea that they saw land nowhere. Their ship and goods were lost, but most of the men got into boats, and so were driven about at sea many days and nights until folk gave themselves up for hunger's sake, most of those in the boats died, but many jumped overboard alive, the sea surge and hunger so affected their heads. There Sira Vigfus Thorbjorn's son lost his life. Andrew koll was master of the ship. Eric Hjalti's son and many other good folk. A ship came from England east off Dyrholm isle. Men rowed out to them, and they were fishermen out from England. That same autumn five of the English men parted from their companions and came on shore east at Horn out of the boat, and said they wished to buy food, and said they had been starved in the boat for many days. Those five English men were here in the land that winter; for the boat was gone from them when they came back, and also many who were out in it. One was lodged in Thykkaby in Ver, another at Kirkeby; three to the east of Öräfi. No news came from Norway to Iceland. The obit of Lady Margaret the queen, she held her rule till her death-day over Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. It is said of a truth that her like has never been for management and power in the foresaid kingdoms. Brother Arni and Magnus the son of Magnus went to see king Eric and



found him at Hisingborg (Helsingborg). Then the king let his treasurer be hanged for stakk? and let a forger of money be boiled.

A merchant ship came from England to Iceland. He was hight Richard who was captain, and he had the king of Norway's letters, to the effect that he might sail with his wares into his realm without toll. He landed from his ship east at Horn, and so rode to Skalholt and back under Eyjafells. There he got on board his ship and sailed in her to Hrafnarfirth, but he had been allotted a haven before at Eyrarbakki. He would not land there. Many bought wares of him down by the sound. Little was taken of that by many wise men. He sailed away again a little after. Vigfus Ivar's son had before taken of him oaths to be faithful and loyal to the land. Those five English men sailed away with him who had been there that winter. Men rowed from fishing in the Westman Isles, twelve of them in a ship, and ran up on that skerry which is called Drengir in calm weather; the ship was dashed to pieces and nine men were drowned. Three came to land alive by a great miracle. Fishermen came from England to the north of Iceland and there took some neat from a farmer and put down money instead of them. Item the English men seized off the Eastfirths some sheep in Papey off Alptarfirth. That summer there sailed hither from England thirty fish-doggers or more. A ship came safe and sound from Norway to Iceland. Obit of Henry king of England. That year fared brother Arni Olaf's son to the curia, and found the Pope in Great Florence, for he was driven out of Rome by the king of Naples, and many hundreds of Rome-dwellers were taken prisoners. And that is a mark of this great warfare that the king's courtiers took even nuns and all kinds of women and maidens, and lay with them in St. Peter's church itself,

1413.  
a. o

and stalled their horses there; and along with this drank out of chalices in ale-booths. There was so much sunshine when the Pope was turned out that much folk died of thirst in the flight before they came to Florence. There in the city was one bi-hop mad with wine, so that twelve men could hardly get him bound. Brother Arni was there in the city from Peter's mass till Mary mass the first. Thence he fared to Lübeck, and was there consecrated a bishop at the pope's command.

1414.  
g t.

Five English ships came to Iceland, and all ran in to the Westman Isles. Then came out there in a letter sent by the king of England to the commons and all the best men in the land, that trading might be allowed to his men, and specially to the crew of that ship which belonged to him. Bergen chaffering was first spoken of, but the English would have nothing to do with it. Afterwards each chaffered as he was able after his means. An Iceland ship was wrecked a little way off the Side, and the crew were saved, but most part of the goods were lost. There came out in her Snorri Torfi's son. Gudrun Finn's daughter his wife rode to the ship. He welcomed her with gladness. It came out in letters which bishop Arni sent to Björn Einar's son the freeman, that he was to have the post of steward over all Iceland. There came out also in king Eric's letters that he forbade all trade with outlandish men with whom it was not usual to trade. Burning of the town of Bergen two nights before Allhallows mass. The fire began first in the Englishmen's yard. Thence it spread to Garpa-street. It burned all that and seven churches with it, and the Apostles Church. On that farm which is called Leira in Leira district a rock was moved out of place so big that it was six fathoms round and pretty nearly as tall as a man. The rock had been moved out of its place near twelve fathoms and yet up a

slope. The rock was oblong, and it had moved itself lengthways; where the rock had stood before looked like the toft of a barn. Obit of lord John, bishop of Skalholt.

The coming out of lord Arni bishop, Olaf's son, in the same craft which he had made himself, having such great power as no man had ever had before, except himself, neither clerk nor layman. First there was the stewardship over all Iceland which king Eric had granted him, with scatts and debts, and all kingly rights. Along with this he had episcopal authority over the holy Holar church in the north country, and along with it all those episcopal privileges which belong to it. That authority bishop John got him, who had been consecrated to Holar, and was then with the king. Besides this he was appointed by lord Askell the archbishop visitor over all Iceland, he had also the management for the cloister of Monklife of the tithes in the Westman Isles, and for many chapmen in Bergen as to their debts. He made the land east at Thvotta and there landed with some men, but the ship got safe to Hrafnafirth. The bishop rode west along the coast and came up home to Skalholt at Petersmass. So he rode up to the Thing, and made them read his letters in the Law-court. All men promised him obedience, clerks and laymen, from north and south. He chaunted the first mass on Thorlak's mass at home in Skalholt. A little after he rode from home down to Sand and thence north over the land to Holar. All the Northlanders took him to be over them with good will, clerks and laymen, and showed him obedience as to their rightful bishop. So he came home back to Skalholt, with great store of fee, both of burnt silver, butter, and meat. That summer six ships lay in Hafnarfirth, from England, Vigfus the freeman, Ivar's son, fared away in one of them to England, and had with him no less

1415.  
f l.

than fifty lasts of stockfish, and much burnt silver. One of those six (ships) stole some stockfish both at Walrusness, and so also in the Westman Isles.

1416.  
ed .k

This winter bishop Arni let smithy a great vessel on a foot which weighed 9 marks of silver, and many others he let then be wrought. Fire came up out of Höfdar Jokul and burned a great dale in the Jokul. There was with it a great fall of ashes which caused harm. Obit of abbot Vermund at Helgafell.

1417.  
c .b

A monstrance was made, and a silver bowl which weighed eleven marks and was called "the guests joy." Bishop Arni made them build four altars in Skalholt church besides those that were already there. He let the town be much improved. Men thought that was done in haste. There came such a great gale on the first Saturday in Thorri (February) over all Iceland that both men and cattle were hurt. Saint Anthony showed a fine miracle to that man who called on him to help him in that same gale in the north land. Ivent the Saxon was then here in the land, and begged for money on behalf of Saint Anthony. All men submitted well to that.

1418.  
b g.

That was called the "boon winter," first the king's boon, which bishop Arni carried through, then the stewards boon, then the provosts boon, and many other calls and cravings of the bishop from the commonalty.

1419.  
a .g

A winter very changeable as to weather, but not very harmful. Lord bishop Arni rode about during the winter all over the Eastfirthers quarter, and back the north way over the Northerners quarter, and so to Borgar-firth and home back to Skalholt. The lord gathered then again a great deal of money as he often did. Then there came on Maunday Thursday such a hard gale with snow, that far and wide all round the land English ships had been wrecked, no fewer than twenty-five. All the men were lost, but the goods and splinters of the ships were cast up everywhere.



The gale came on a little before breakfast, and lasted not quite to noon. Summer began on Maunday Thursday. That same summer lord bishop Arni Olaf's son sailed away from Iceland and put out from the Westman Isles in that same craft which he owned himself, and there he lay driven back. In the winter he came in safety to Bergen, and there he met bishop John Torfi's son boun for Iceland; the bishops parted a little later. Arni gave John at parting the cross "Dazzle," and more things beside. They were thought though to be hardly given to him. Bishop John put to sea and made Iceland safe and sound in Therney firth, lord Hans Paul's son went out with him and many other Dansk men. Bishop John fared home to his see at Holar. It seemed to him that bishop Arni had cut him short. The bishop was a guest at Reykholt when he rode north. And when the feast was over he summoned to him Sira Thorkel Olaf's son for a reckoning north to Holar for so long a time as he had held the provostdom in Hunavatns Thing, and many other points beside.

This winter came a great sickness over all the districts; that folk died most at sixty years old, few older. Bishop John Torfi's son rode on visitation. He deprived now John Björn's son the official, but made Sira Ari manager of the see at Holar. Thorleif Arni's son sailed hence and fought with the English on the sea. He made Norway in safety. The coming out of Hans Nystead and his wife, Margaret Özur's daughter.

1420.  
gf s.

This winter died many strong folk, few older than about thirty, and none younger than twenty years. The church at Mödruvales in Horgadale fell down in a great storm. Geir Arni's son was beheaded for a wound on Brand Haldor's son which he got at the Althing.

1421.  
e c.

1422.  
d c.

Fire burst out in the south-west away from Reyk-janess. Land rose up there, as may be seen since by those who pass near to it. A hard spring for weather. Hans Nystead, the brother-in-law of Mistress Gudrid, and his wife Mistress Margaret sailed hence. The coming out of Balltzar and lord Hans Paul's son in the Westman Isles, and landed there with their men. But lord John abbot, Halfred's son, who had sailed thither with them would not land, but rather stick to the ship and land in Therney Sound, according as had been settled before. This was not fated to him, because the ship put out to sea and never a scrap of her was seen since, so that men have no true tidings about her nor of any one who was on her. Then Balltzar and Hans fared to the mainland, and made the most of the king's gift to them of the land in fief according to the purport of their letters. That became a cause of little concord to themselves afterwards.

1423  
c p.

Obit of lord John, bishop of Holar, of venerable memory. In his last illness the lord bishop John set up Sira Michael as official, and Sira Thorkel Gudbjart's son manager at home in the see. From this arrangement of the bishop arose great discord, both of clerks and laymen. Almost all priests wished to have John Björn's son for official, but Sira Ari manager. The freemen round about Skagafirth and still further stood by them, but Hans Paul's son and others beside backed Sira Michael. The end of it was that Michael the priest had the work of official, and he set up Ivor John Paul's son, the priest, as manager.

1424.  
ba .o

A long and hard winter for weather's sake; much loss of men and ships. There was an eclipse of the sun far and wide in Iceland near John Baptist's mass. Twenty years later than Song-Anna was noted? came

such a scarcity on Iceland that she lent Thing-Eyra cloister six wey of butter.

The cloister at Helgafell despoiled and the church as well. First the cloister was broken (into), next after that the church afterward spoilt with blood shed in enmity. A man shot to death in the very churchyard. The servants of lord Hans Paul's son did that. That was thought very sad tidings to hear. The church was afterwards service-less for four years or something better. They were taken prisoners in the Westmann Isles, Balthazar and lord Hans, and were carried off to England; few were sorry at that. The steward's ship sailed away hence, of which Matthew was captain; on board her were many who begged a passage of Sira John Paul's son, and many men of Hans, those who spoiled the cloister at Helgafell.

1425  
g t.

A very bad winter for infantile diseases. Along with it followed other strange sicknesses. First eye-pains, then kidney-pains, the testicles were swollen up with sharp pains. Here came along with it that sickness in which the jaws and face were inflamed, but all got better very quickly. Eruptions of the skin were very frequent. A winter so hard for weather and so long that both horses and cattle almost died out in the north country, and so far and wide in other places. This was called the croup winter. The coming out of Saint Peter's and Saint Thorlak's (relics). Balthasar came out and was approved steward by all. In the same summer he sailed back to England with those with whom he fared hither before.

1426.  
f l.

The riding north of Gudmund Aris' son to the Hunvetningers; many thought it heavy work to come in its way, on account of the behaviour of those men who rode with the freemen. Lord John John's son, bishop of Holar, came out to Hafnarfirth with the English. He rode to the Althing and showed his

1427.  
e l

letters. The Northlanders did not take to him at all kindly. The lord sailed away the same summer, and did not go to his see. He ordained four priests, and some deacons in Skalholt ere he sailed away. Obit of Helgi Guttorm's son, and of John Gisli's son. The craft went hence which lay in Grindavick and which Ketill Snowbjörn's son steered. He came to Norway, but wrecked the ship and lost the goods, but all the men were saved.

1428.  
de p.

A good and mild winter. A wide loss of ships from the great surf. Eighteen ships were wrecked at Akraness. Two six-oars were borne far up into the bog and carried up to . . . ness; one of them was unbroken. Obit of Gisli Andrew's son. Obit of Björn Andrew's son, of Videy. The coming out of Kettle Snowbjörn's son and of Andrew Finbog's son, in the Westfirths. They were very far gone for want of water's sake. They made ready their voyage from Norway in a hurry; they did not water the ship before they put to sea, and had only salt meat on board.

1429.  
b g.

The church and cloister burnt down at Monkthvera the next night after the first Saturday in February, about midnight, with such speedy and violent outbreak that the fire only lasted an hour and a half, and with it all the goods that were in the church and cloister, which it is hard to reckon. Two clerks were burnt to death in the cloister, and that brother the third who had the management of the cloister, and no one thought else than that he would quickly get his death from it. He kept his bed all the winter till Easter, and was never the same as he was before in bodily bearing. He turned his hand to nothing out of doors. He was abbot there afterwards and seemed to most men not to have been a bad manager since. The coming out of lord John bishop to Holar from England. A little after he rode



to Helgafell and cleansed the church cloister and churchyard, and consecrated the church on that day which is now kept as the consecration. After that he was a guest at Reykholt, and there he cleansed the churchyard. After that he rode north to Holar, and chaunted his first bishop's mass on Lady Day the first. Brother Njal was consecrated abbot of Helgafell and brother Thorgils abbot at Monkthvera. John long and Einar the fat came out from Norway. A very good autumn.

So good and unsnowsme a winter that men hardly ever remembered one like it, and the spring too in its turn to mild weather and growth of grass. Great death of neat in Skalholt. Obit of priest Einar Hauk's son, manager at Skalholt, the fifth day in Easter week, anno Domini 1430. The forenamed Einar had filled the post of manager at Skalholt for sixteen years and a half. There has not been here in the land in our days a man more beloved and whose death was more bewailed by the people than Sira Einar. Many things went to strengthen that feeling, though they are not here pointed out; for it is bad to praise a man who is in Christ's hand; rather should we pray heartily for his soul. The holy church at Skalholt in such grief and sorrow as we never before knew. First bishopless, with an old and blind official, and then the loss of a manager who was both fit and faithful. In this same summer came out hither to the land lord John Gerek's son, bishop of Skalholt. He came with his ship into Hafnafirth on Wednesday next after St. John Baptist's day. The lord bishop came hither from England, for he had stayed there the winter before. Many servants came with him who gave themselves out as Danes, most of them were of little good to the land. For that I do not care to write their names. Two priests came out hither with lord John bishop of Skalholt. One's name was

1430.  
a .g

Matthew and the other's Nicholas. Priest Nicholas sailed back the same summer and with many lasts of stockfish of the bishops for he was a great gatherer of fish and other things ; for the land folk were somewhat quick to serve the bishop. Obit of queen Philippa of Denmark. Obit of lady Gudrun Haldor's daughter abbess of Kikjuby. Far and wide in Iceland that fish which men called öfga-fish was cast up by the sea. It was strange in many ways. [*Here the Annals end.*]

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FROM THE ANNALS OF JOHN EGIL'S SON, about 1600.

The twenty-first bishop John Gerich's son. He was Swedish by birth, and had thirty Irish serving men which were very unruly so that the bishop ruled them little or not at all. Now we have to tell of these men who were under him in his days. He rode much about the land and his men did much mischief or took great men prisoners. There are two men specially singled out; one from Bjornness, his name was Teit, and another from Modruvales, Thorvard Lopt's son, son of Lopt the powerful, as shall be told later on. Both these the bishop and his men carried to Skalholt, and put them in irons there and fed them on fish. It so befell that Thorvard got loose in the autumn, but Teit sat there till Easter. At Easter men drank, and those two were so drunk who had to watch Teit that they lost the keys of his fetters, but a serving-woman found them and gave them to Teit. After that he got loose. They then both wrote and agreed on a day when they would both come to Skalholt. And so it was. They came both at once. Thorvard on the outside, but Teit on the east on the crag. First of all they rode over the river at Then-gilsere. And when the bishop heard that Teit had got up on the crag, he said his life and his men's were lost. Then he went to the church, and his priests and men, and let all the gates on the see and church be locked, and he and all the priests put on their vestments and so began mass and he consecrated<sup>a</sup> a wafer and had it in his hand and thought that would shield him. At that those others came up and took that counsel as the church was bolted and barred that they put large timbers under the doorposts and so hoisted up the

church so that they got in under them, but meanwhile the church stood all a-skew, and so they went further in to the bishop; there he was before the altar and in full canonicals with the consecrated wafer. They seized him at once and dragged him out along the choir, but the priests took hold of him with all their might. But when they came to mid-church the wafer fell down. At that they dragged him out of the church; but the priests hung on to him all out to the steeple. They then let him go. Then the church priest went inwards back to the choir and strode to where the wafer lay and saved it. There in that same place the bishop was afterwards buried, and when the church was burnt, men saw some tokens of his coffin. The others fared with the bishop out to the ferry-stead at Spoa-steads and put him into a sack and so tied stones to it, and then cast him into the river. He was cast up after that by the Craggs at Urdarklett. There were two in particular who put the bishop in the sack and into the river. He begged for his life and could not get it. Both of them lived a short while, one's name was Olaf and the other's John. These rhymes were sung of them :—

Olaf the ill, the bishop did kill,  
But John did still worse  
He saw the last of the lord,

For he cast him into the river. But when John died his ghost walked about and could not bear the earth. They dug him then up again, and he was not at all rotten, and they cast him out into a fish-pond and bound stones round his neck. But in the morning when men came thither all the fish had come out of the pond and lay dead in the weeds round about the pond, but naught was ever heard of John. They slew the bishop's men there in the church as they could lay hands on them. It is the story of men that they shot up at them on the cross beams both



with bows and spears, but the others tumbled down. They buried them all in the Irish yard to the west of Brinktown. But that woman who had given Teit the keys he had away with him, and gave her twenty hundreds of land and wedded her to a man of might. The sister of this Thorvard Lopt's son was mistress Sophia. She had that husband hight Ivar, and was called holm. He was lawman, and Thorvard had his sister to wife. She was called mistress Margaret. This Ivar holm escaped out of the burning at Kirkjubol south at the Ness; but his name was Arni, and was called the ruler of the roast who led the band, and the men of bishop John Gerich's son were there with him. Therefore those brothers-in-law, Thorvard and he, revenged themselves on the men of John Gerich's son for this burning and other things like it. Bishop John died 1432.

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FROM THE ANNALS OF BJÖRN OF SKARDSA (circa 1639).

In the year 1433 was the burning of Kirkjubol in the south, when squire Ivar son of Vigfus was shot to death. Magnus feast-ruler in Skalholt was chief at the burning, whom some said was a son of bishop John. He wooed first the sister of that Ivar whose name was Margaret and did not get her. Their father was Vigfus, who had been steward. After that Magnus bishops kin sailed and never came out again, but Margaret got out from the burning through an oven; she had got a hole made in it with her shears. Margaret would wed no one unless that man avenged her brother. Thorvard Lopt's son undertook that, the grandson of Guttorm the mighty of Modruvales in Eyjafirth. He gathered together men, and there was with him over the band a freeman from

Dale in Eyjafirth Arni Magnus' son, who was called the Daleblade. And they rode south that summer before Thorlak's mass into Skalholt, for that Daleblade knew that bishop John would be at home, for there was then a great holiday on the mass day of bishop Thorlak. They came thither on the eve of the saint's day, and set up their tents outside the other tents. Much folk had come. Thorvard and Daleblade went home about masstide with their men all equipped, and so went into the church. Daleblade went first, and said, "Now is the time for glory." Bishop John suspected the men, and threw over himself the mass vestments and took the chalice and paten in his hand. The Northmen went to the altar and took bishop John, though it was against his will. It is so reported that when they came to the steeple the bishop was somewhat weary from the difficulty of walking, and that he had then ordered one of his pages to go into the cellar and fetch him a good drink of mead, which the boy did, and came quickly with a great silver bowl, and the Northerners waited for that. The bishop drunk hastily out of the bowl, and went afterwards with them to their tents. After that they had the bishop to Bridgewater and drowned him there in it with coils of rope and stones. Afterwards Thorvard married Margaret, and they had three daughters, Gudrid, Ingibjorg, Ragnhild.

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FROM THE ANNALS OF JOHN EGILSSON.

Circa 1510.—In the days of bishop Stephen there was a battle between the Englishmen and the Sidemen. There fell fourteen Englishmen and one priest of the Icelanders, hight Sira John, and was called

“butter-nose.” He held Scarth in Middleland. The date then was 1514. There, some years afterwards, when the date was 1518, or thereabouts, was a battle between the Englishmen and the Hamburgers in Hafnarfirth. They lay there together with that big ship and a crew of three hundred in up at the old booths. The Hamburgers wished to get a harbour for themselves, and thought that was the best here, and so they wished to clear the others out. They came upon them when the wind was inshore, so that all the smoke was borne in on the English, but the Germans had covered both their ships with beds right down to the water’s edge. They got to help them 48 men of the Germans from Waterless, and out of Keflawick, Batsend, and Thorshaven. Of all of them none came back but eight, but the forty others lay behind dead. Still the Germans won and cleared the others out, and betook themselves up to the ere, and had their berth there afterwards. But the English took a haven for themselves in Grindawick and lay there long.

Circa 1530.—In his days Erlend of Strond and his men had a battle with the English in Grindawick, and Erlend’s men got much shame. He let also about that time two Englishmen be slain guiltless, who lay dead afterwards, one at Bjarnarstead in Sealvøe in the doors; his name was John Dalton; he sent to fetch him from Fljotslithe east. The other he let be slain on the sand above the lava in Grindawick, there where now is the chapel; his name was Nicholas. And he took to himself all that they owned.

In the days of bishop Ögmund the Germans and English had a fight in Grindawick, and the Germans won, for the others were not ready for them, and the Germans beguiled them as to the day, and came on them unawares and drunk. There fell fourteen

English, and he was called Rich Bragi who was their leader. They are buried there in the stronghold.

Circa 1468.—This was the end of his life (*i.e.*, *Sira Björn*) that he was slain by the English, west in the Rif, chopped in pieces, and sent to her (*i.e.*, *Lady Olof, his wife*). The cause of that has not been clear to me. But in revenge for it she let all the English be slain the summer after, and twelve of them she had bound on one rope and all be beheaded, and many great deeds are told of her. When her last hour came she prayed to God that He would let some token be shown on her death which should be long remembered, and it so happened that such a gale came on the land here and far and wide in Norway, that many houses were broken down, and very many churches, and men could not stand on the earth. And that was called afterwards Olof's gale.

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#### FROM THE ANNALS OF JOHN GIZUR'S SON.

Year 1467. This forenamed Bjorn the mighty was smitten to death in the Rif by Englishmen on account of a riot which happened between him and them. Stories are told about that. Mistress Olof was at that time in at Helgafell. When she heard of the death of her brother? John, she said, "There shall be " no weeping for Master John, but rather gather men." That she did, and clad herself in a shirt of mail and woman's dress over it; so she set out with her men in array. She came with craft, she and her men, at St. John's mass, on the Englishmen, and slew there a great company, except the cook, who got his life very narrowly, for that he had before helped their son



Thorleif, of which he had the benefit, though it was a hard pinch. That was then turned into a proverb:

“ There was riot at Rif

“ When rich Björn died there.

Mistress Olof sat at Reykhola to her death-day, and there were much to write of her, though it comes to an end here.

Circa 1520. Lord Martin sailed nine winters with the Englishmen, and for nine years running was in England. He sailed first with Robert who had got to wife his sister Gudlaug Einar's daughter. This Robert was a winter-guest for two years at Sira Einar Snorri's son at Stadarstead, and was wedded to her, and the bridal was at Rif at the cost of the English. The English let a tun of wine be furnished by each ship, but nine ships lay there. The feast lasted half a month. They sailed that same summer and Master Martin with them. He went to an English school and followed afterwards painting. After that he was two years at Grindawick as a chapman till he was twenty, his father would not let him be there longer, and bishop Ogmund begged for him, so he was a painter here and painted the old church. He was a very gentle man.

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6. FROM A LETTER OF THE ICELANDERS TO ERIC OF POMERANIA, KING OF NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK, 1419.

Your letter came to us hither to this land, in which you forbade us to have dealings with any outlandish men. But our law-books made provision that six ships should come to us yearly from Norway, which has not come to pass for a long time, whereby your grace and this poor land have taken heavy scathe. For

by God's grace and our trust in you, we have had dealings with outlandish men, who have come hither in peace and with right desire to trade, and have sailed into harbours. But those doggerers and fishers who have robbed and made strife, them we have caused to be chastised. Now it stands to God's grace and you that you should write to us how we may have the best peace and your friendship and protection. Herewith we commend you to God and all the host of Heaven.

And for further certainty and evidence of our trustiness to you, then we have appended our seals on behalf of the public to this letter, whose names are these: Audfinn Thorstein's son, the henchman of your ancestors, Rafn the lawman, Oddr the lawman, and twenty-one more.

Done at the Thingfield the Saturday next after Peter's mass in the summer anno Domini M.CD° decimo nono.

#### THE VENERABLE BEDE.

FROM A VELLUM MS. ARN. MAGN. 764a.

Bede the priest, the worthy friend of God, the famous expounder of godly Scripture, flourished in England at that time when 870 years had passed since the incarnation of God's Son. He was an old man and blind. About this good man a question has arisen why he had his honourable name "*venerabilis*" and not "*beatus*." But this shall be answered thus: that it so befell that a clerk wished to put a fitting verse over his grave, and began thus:—

"*Hæc sunt in fossâ*"——

but he could in no wise finish it as he liked. And a little while after he went again to the grave of this

good man. Then he looked and saw that the verse was completed, and it began thus:—

“*Hac sunt in fossa Bede venerabilis ossa.*”

He has composed that book which is called *Martirilogium*. It is also to be read (in books) that the blessed Bede prayed to God that he should go away from this world on the Feast of the Resurrection of the Son of God, and that same was granted him.

But some books say that Bede the priest had fared on his way through a dale. It was very stony there. Then his guide began to speak, for he (Bede) was then blind: “Hear, father, here are come together a  
“ great gathering of men, therefore it becomes thee  
“ to preach God’s word. He was eager for that, and  
“ preaches afterwards in a most wonderful way, and  
“ when he makes an end of his sermon it was heard  
“ plainly that the stones had uttered these words,  
“ *Amen, venerabilis Pater.*”





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I N D E X .

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## INDEX.

## THE SAGA OF HACON.

## THE SAGA OF MAGNUS.

References to the Chapter except when otherwise stated.

I.—*Names of Places.*

## A.

- Aalesund, Áleyjar-sund, in Southmæren; 79.
- Aarhus, Árús, *i.e.*, Ár-ós, or "Water-mouth," a bishop's see, Jutland, Denmark; Magn. 8.
- Acre, Akr, in Palestine; 30.
- Agdir-ness, Agða-nes, at the mouth of the firth of Drontheim; 76, 333.
- Agdir, Adðir, a province, the southern point of Norway, from Ekersund to east of the isle of Thromö; 74, 83, 289.
- Akr, near Oslo; 69, 145, 147, 262.
- Akrs-hagi, an enclosed field called Akr, east of Oslo, where the town of Christiania now stands; 69.
- Aldi, a firth, Aalden fiord, North Norway; 283.
- All-Saints' church, Allra-heilagra-kirkja, Bergen, 333.
- Almain, Allemagne, Germany; Magn. 5.
- Alps, the; 304.
- Alreks-stead, Alreks-staðir, Aarstad, an old royal residence, near Bergen; 144.
- Althing, Alþingi, the meeting of the Icelandic parliament; 316.
- Andverd-wood, Andverd-skóg, a cloister in Denmark; Magn. 8.
- Ang-leysa, now Löse, in the parish Angr, near Oslo; 127.
- Angr, a port in the isle of Dollz, off Southmæren; 188.
- Ansmark, Áns-mörk, in Borgar-sýsla; 117.
- Apostles Church, Postola-kirkja, in Konungs-garðr, Bergen; 252, 333; Magn. 5, 6.
- Apple-seat, Apalds-setr, Apelseter, in Vettar hérað; 74.
- Apulia, Púl; 1, 275.
- Aragon, Spain; 294.
- Ara-ness, Ara-nes, at Kongsbacka, in Hal-land; 286.
- Arey, Ár-eyjar, island, near Túnsberg; 74, 147.
- Arnisle, Arn-eyjar, (called Avrn, Edda ii. 492,) Arnöerne, in the firth of Salpti; 203.
- Arran, the isle of; 322, 326, p. 389, p. 390.
- Arwick, Ar-víkr, in Vermland; 115.
- Asa-wood, Asa-skógr, now Asak-skogen; 120, 121.
- Ask, Askr, in the island Fenring, off Bergen; 147, 191.
- Asleifs-wick, Ásleifarvík (Halseyjarvík), a port in Caithness; 319.
- Ass = Gaular-áss, near Nidaros; 4.
- Astorga, Afstorga, Leon, Spain; 294.
- Aum, Aumar, isle of Omöe, West Norway; 141.
- Aur, Aurr (or Or), the island now called Jomfrueland? near Kragerö, on the Fold, Norway; 227.
- Aurar (or Orar), Aure, Southmæren; 203.
- Ayr. *See* Novar.

B.

Baga-stream, Bága-straumur, a stream or current in the Gotha R.; Magn. 8.  
 Banks, the, Bakkar, in Bergen; 317.  
 Bank, the, Bakki, a convent near Nídaros; 6, 76, 239; Magn. 3.  
 Bardafirth, Barð-fjörðr (or Barða-f.), the firth of, in Halland; 36, 286.  
 Burrafirth, Barreyjar-fjörðr, Shetland; 318.  
 Barcelona, Barzalon, Spain; 294.  
 Befja, a river and a district in South-eastern Norway; 149.  
 Barefooted friars (Dominicans) church, Berfættu-bræðra-kirkja, in Túsberg; 333.  
 Berg, a place in Romarick; 110.  
 Berg, or Bergit, the castle in Túsberg; 109, 119, 179, 227, 283, 333.  
 Bergen, Björgyn, or Björg-vin, founded by king Olaf the Quiet, the chief town and royal residence in Western Norway; 1, and *passim*.  
 Berudale, Beru-dalr, in Sóknadale? 79.  
 Bjark-isle, Bjark-ey, the island Bjarkö, Helgeland, the seat of the Bjarkeyingar family; 203, 328.  
 Bjarma-land, Permia, on the White sea, Russia; 81.  
 Bjorisle, Björ-ey, or Bjór-ey, isle of Björöen. off Naumudal; 203.  
 Blacksteads, Blakka-staðir, the farm Blakstað, near Oslo; 48.  
 Blá-land, Ethiopia, North Africa; 313 (verse).  
 Bleiking, Bleikingar, a province in Denmark (now in Sweden); 298.  
 Blindheim, Blind-heimr, the farm in the island of Vigr, Southmæren, the seat of the family Blindheims-menn; 161.  
 Borg = Sarpsborg; 1, 226; Magn. 5.  
 Borg = Sverris-borg, in Bergen; 4, 215, 333.  
 Borg-river, Borgar-á, a river? 226.  
 Borgarfirth, Borgar-fjörðr, a district in Western Iceland; 180, 257, 311.

Borg stewardship, Borgar sýsla, the province Smaalen, south-eastern Norway; 1, 3, 82, 117, 237; Magn. 7.  
 Borgar-thing, a meeting at Sarpsborg; 28, 187.  
 Borglum, Börglum, a bishop's see in Jutland, Denmark; Magn. 8.  
 Borgund, an island off Southmæren, Norway; 205, 208.  
 Borri, a farm, site unknown; 196, 203.  
 Brabant; 44.  
 Brandaby, Branda-bú, a farm in Hadeland; 136.  
 Breidabol-stad, Breiða-bólstaðr, in the south of Iceland; 59.  
 Bressey Sound, Breiðeyjar-sund, Shetland; 319.  
 Broadfirth, Breiða-fjörðr, the Moray Firth, Scotland; 319.  
 Breidin, Breiðin, Bredebygd, in Gudbrandsdale; 333.  
 Broad-hall, Breiða-stofa, in Nídaros; 238. in Túsberg; Magn. 8.  
 Bri-steinn, tough-stone, a rock west of the Fold, in a nickname.  
 Brun-isles, Brunn-eyjar, isle of Bröndö, North Norway; 203.  
 Brunswick, Brúns-vík, Germany; 313.  
 Burgos, Burgs, Spain; 294.  
 Bute, Bót, the island in the Clyde; 167, 320, 321, 322, 326, p. 388, p. 389, p. 390, p. 395.  
 Bæda-sound, Bæðu-sund, now Bævösund; 228.  
 Bær, in West Iceland, in Borgarfird; 180.  
 By, Bær, an estate in Sogn; 191.

C.

Cailleach Stone, Kerlingar-steinn, near the isle of Skye; 319.  
 Cairnborg, Kjarna-borg, Cairn-a-burgh, an island off the north-west coast of Mull; 265.  
 Caithness, Kata-nes, Scotland; 170, 171, 319; M. 2.  
 Canons house, the, Kórsbræðra-garðr, Oslo; 234, 236.

Cantire; 167, 320, 321, 322, p. 388, p. 389, p. 395.  
 Castile, Kastél, Spain; 284.  
 Catalonia; 294.  
 Catherine's Church, Katrínar-kirkja, in Bergen; 333.  
 Chipping, Kaup-angr, = Nidaros; 10, 189.  
 Christ Church, Krist-kirkja, Bergen; 23, 46, 176, 207, 239, 249, 310, 331; Litla-Krist-kirkja; 254.  
 Christ Church, Krist-kirkja, in Nidaros; 13, 39, 198, 239, 264.  
 Copeman's isle, Kaupmanna-ey, Copeland island, near Donaghadee; 167.  
 Copenhagen, Kaupmanna-höfn, "Chapmanhaven," Köbenhavn or Kjöbenhavn, Denmark; 84, 161, 243, 293, 298.  
 Crook-wood, Króka-skógr, a forest in South-east Norway; Magn. 8.  
 Cross-church, in Nidaros; 10.  
 Cross-guild, Kross-gildi, a guild in Nidaros; 238.  
 Crosswater, Þverár-eyrar, in North of Iceland; 283.  
 Cumbræ, Kinur, The, in the Clyde; 322, 324, p. 390.

## D.

The Dales = Dalir = Guðbrands-dalir, Eys-tri-dalir, the highlands of Central Norway, north and east of Lake Mjøsen; 123, 210.  
 The Dale, Dalr, in Sweden; 259.  
 Dane-ridge, Dana-kleif, in Túsberg; 125, 333.  
 Danish realm, the, Dana-veldi, Denmark; 276.  
 Denmark, Dan-mörk; 4, 157, 158, 243, 256; Magn. 5.  
 Damiatta, Damiat, Egypt; 30.  
 The Dovrefield, Dofra-fjall, Norway; 295.  
 Drafn = Dramn, *q.v.*  
 Dragsmark, Drags-mörk, the county of Bohuslen; 333.  
 Dramn, Drafn, or Drömn, the river and firth Drammen, Norway; 75, 82, 131.

Dromnes, Drómu-nes, Northmæren; 205.  
 Drontheim, Þrónd-heimr, the province Drontheim, the dales and country, consisting of eight shires or fylki, surrounding the branches of Drontheim firth; 1. *See also* Nidaros.  
 Drontheim-law, Þrœnda lög, the jurisdiction of the Drontheimers, in the widest sense; 14, 54, 86.  
 Dynroost, Dynröst, Sumburgh Roost, between Shetland and Orkney; 261.  
 Dyngja island, in Bohuslen; 262.  
 Dynness, Dynjar-nes, a ness in the island Dyn, Helgeland; 173.  
 Dœrness, Dýr-nes, Caithness; 318, 327.

## E.

East-Agdir, Austr-Agðir, east of Cape Naze; 287.  
 East-airt, Austratt, Austr-ätt, in Yrjar, Northmæren, now Oster-aatt; 86, 194.  
 East-dale, Eystri-dalir, the valley Österdalen, Norway; 3, 79, 123, 148, 204.  
 East-street, Eystra-stræti, a street in Oslo; 231.  
 East-sea, Austan-sjór, the farm Östensjø, near Oslo, occurs only in a nickname.  
 Edre, the river Atra, in Halland, Denmark (now Sweden); 286.  
 Eid, Eið, a farm, in Romarick; 131, 133.  
 Eið?; the Neck; Magn. 3.  
 Eidr, Eiðar, a district, Vermland; 113.  
 Eid-wood, Eiða-skógr, the great forest, between Norway and Vermland; 108, 112, 148, 153.  
 Eids-berg, Eiðs-berg, a place in Borgarsýsla; 186.  
 Eids-voe, Eiðs-vágr, a port near Bergen; 318; Magn. 273.  
 Eidsfield, Eiðs-völlr, in Romarick, at the end of lake Mjøsen; 131, 133, 151, 155, 217, 238; Magn. 8.  
 Eika-berg, Ekeberg near Oslo? a part of modern Christiania. *See the following*



Eikabergs-skor, a headland or point near Oslo; 109 (or read—stöð?).  
 Eikabergs-stead, Eikabergs-stöð, a landing place near Ekeberg, Oslo; 228.  
 Eikunda-sound, Eikunda-sund, Ekersund, Western Norway; 60, 141, 285.  
 Ekr-isles, Ekr-eyjar (better Ekkr-eyjar?), islands, now Öckerö off the Gotha River; 277, 285, *sqq.*, 333; Magn. 8.  
 Eldu-neck, Eldu-eið, the neck of land now called Naumdalseid, Helgeland; 203.  
 Elf-bakki, Elfar-bakki, near Konungahella; 28.  
 Elf-stewardship, Elfar-sýsla, a province, between the Gotha R. and the R. Glommen, in Bohuslen, south-eastern Norway, now Sweden; 53, 267.  
 Elf, Elfr, or Elfrin, = Gaut-elfr, or the Gotha river; 139, 185, 276, 283, *sqq.*; Magn. 5, 8.  
 Elf, Elfr, = Raum-elfr, R. Glommen; 1, 53, 71, 110, 151.  
 Elk-ness, Elgjar-nes, now "Ildjernet," a little island near Oslo; 133.  
 Elk-shieling, Elgi-setr, or Helgi-setr, the "Holy-seat," a cloister, Nidaros; 86, 213, 222, 239-241.  
 Elwick, Elliðar-vík, Shapinsa, Orkney; 319.  
 Elvi, = Raum-elfr; 110.  
 Elvinar-edge, Elvinar-egg (or eng), near Oslo; 130 (Munch. iii. 701).  
 England, England; 1, 130, 248, 249, 294; Magn. 4.  
 Eres the, Eyra, near Nidaros (Eyra þing); 2, 17, 190.  
 Erlendshow, Erlends-haugr, near Nidaros; 239.  
 Esju-ness, a ness east of Cape Naze. *See* the following.  
 Esjuness-isles, Esjunes-eyjar, Hesnesøer, in Austr-agðir; 227.  
 Eyja and Eyja-vatn, or vatn Eyja, the lake Öyeren, Romarick; 48, 78, 152, 156, 333.  
 Eyja, Oyer, a place in Gudbrandsdale; 333.  
 Eyja-firth, Eyja-fjörðr, district in Iceland; 297.

Eyjar *i.e.* the Western Islands, Orkney, Shetland, Sodor and Man; 166, 264.  
 Eyra, Ören, Oslo; 333.  
 Eyn-hallow, Eyin-Helga, in the Orkneys; 147.  
 Eyra, in south of Iceland; 38.  
 Eyra-sound, Eyra-sund, Öresund, the Sound in Denmark; 276, 293, 298.  
 Eyra-thing, the Thing on the Eres, Nidaros; 2, 5, 14, 198, 223.

## F.

Fad, Fað, the R. Lysaker-elv, near Oslo; 69.  
 Fála, or Fala, a farm, now Fulu, in Odalen; 152.  
 Fenedi, Venice; 275.  
 Fenring, island, now Askö, off Bergen; 285.  
 Fell, Fjali (Gassi undan Fjallinu), in Hadeland; 57.  
 Fell, Fjall, = Dofra-fjall, suðr um Fjall; 182, 204; fyrir norðan Fjall; 304; suðr til Fjallz; 316.  
 Fell, Fjall, = the Alps; 304.  
 Fille-fell, Filla-fjall, the Fillefield, between Sogn and Valdres, Norway; 305.  
 Finland, Finn-bygð = Finnmörk; 291, 318 (verse).  
 Fiords, the, Firðir, a Norse province, south of Cape Stadt; 326.  
 Fladki, a firth and district, Flak, near Nidaros; 203.  
 Flanders, Flandr; 296.  
 Flora-voe, Flóru-vágar, a creek near Bergen; 92, 195, 225, 258.  
 Flugamoor, Flugu-mýrr, in Iceland; 282.  
 Fola field, Fola-völlr, the farm Folvel, Romarick; 78.  
 Fold-hella; 206 (read Hold-hella, near Bergen. *See* Munch. iii. 942, footnote).  
 Fold, Foldin, the present Christiania Fjord; 28, 34, 119, 125, 277, 288, 301.

- Fold=the coast of the Christiania Fjord ; 70, 109.
- Folkins-berg, the farm Folkensberg, in Heggín, Borgar sýsla ; 3, 117.
- Folkinsberg (in Ånsmark="Folkenborg in Rödernes," Munch. iii., 689, footnote) ; 120.
- Folksnar, Folksn (and Folskn), the island Store Fosen, off Drontheim ; 202.
- Follo, the coast land east of the Christiania Fjord ; 70, 151.
- Force, Fors, a farm, near Oslo ; 75.
- France, Franz ; 294, 296.
- Frek-ey, the island Frekø, see the following.
- Freckeyjar-sund, Frekeyjar-sund, Frekø-sund, off Raumsdale ; 141, 316.
- Frodung, Fróðung, the island Frognøen, in lake Tyri ; 75, 12.
- Frosta-Thing, Frostu-þing, the Thing of Frosta ; 181, 303 ; Magn. 7.
- Frysja, R. Akers-elven, west of Oslo, in the modern Christiania ; 35, 47, 69.
- Frysja-bridge, Frysju-brú, a bridge on the R. Frysja ; 228.
- Fundu-eid, Fundu-eið, a neck of land on the R. Raum-elfr ; 152, 153.
- Fyri, a farm in Romarick ; 110.
- Faroës, the, Fær-eyjar, the "Sheep isles" ; 86.
- G.
- Galloway, Galvei, Scotland ; 163, p. 393.
- Gardar, Garðar, a farm in Borgar-fjorð, Iceland ; 180.
- Garda-rikk, Garða-ríki, in Little Russia ; 271.
- Gascogny, Gaskún, France ; 294.
- Gaul, the river near Nidaros, see the following.
- Gaular-ass, Gaular-áss, Byaasen, a sand-hill near Nidaros ; 103, 206.
- Gaular-dale, Gaular-dalr, Guldalen, a dale in the North of Norway, near Drontheim ; 17, 79, 200, 206, 276.
- Gaut-castle or Goth-castle, Gauta-kastali, in Túsberg ; 333.
- Gaut-elfr, the "Elf of the Goths," i.e. the Gotha R. See Elfr ; 333.
- Geldinga-holt, in Iceland ; 283.
- Gerona, Gerun, the town, Spain ; 294.
- Gigha, Gudey, Islands off Cantire, 319, 321, 322, 326, p. 388, p. 389.
- Gizki, the island Giskø, off South-Mæren ; 132, 181, 205 ; Magn. 3.
- Glad-force, Glað-fors, the district Glafs-force, in Vermland ; 117.
- Glaum-steinn, or Glym-steinn, the rock Glumsten, off Halland ; 286.
- Goafirth, Góa-fjörðr, in Caithness, Loch Eribol? Scotland ; 227.
- Goat-bridge, Geita-brú, a bridge across the river in Oslo ; 230.
- Goat-car, Geit-kjör, in Halland ; 285, 286.
- Golden-isle. See Gull-cy.
- Gothland, Gaut-land, the province Gothland, Sweden ; 9, 29, 178, 243, 258, 266, *sqq.* ; divided into Eystra-Gautland, and Vestra-Gautland ; 288.
- Got-land, the island Gothland, Sweden ; 260.
- Gratta-gref, the farm Greftegrev, Hadeland ; 121.
- Greenland, Grœna land (Grœnland) ; 257, 311.
- Grenland, Græn-land, a province in nether Thelemarken ; 71.
- Gren-marr, or Grænmar, the firth of G., now Skiens fiord, South Norway ; 74, 227.
- Grimsey, Gríms-ey, an island of North Iceland ; 79, 282.
- Grindholm-sound, Grindholma-sund, a sound now called Vrången, near Túsberg ; 63, 130, 185, 228.
- Grovo, Gróva, now Grue, in Soleyjar ; 183.
- Grund, in Eyjafjörð, Iceland ; 180.
- Grœning-sound, Grœninga-sund, a sound between the isle of Falster and the isle of Møn, Denmark ; 256.
- Grœning-sound, Grœningja-sund, a sound south of Bergen ; 225.

Grønland. *See* Grenland.

Grön, in Hadeland; 137.

Guðbrands-dale, Guðbrandz-dalir, a dale and district in Norway; 3, 53, 129, 148.

Guðreks-steads, Guðreks-staðir, Gaustad, near Nidaros; 217.

Gudey. *See* Gigha.

Gula-thing, the Thing at Gula, in West Norway; see the following.

Gulathings-law, the jurisdiction of the Gula Thing; 15, 56, 86, 225.

Gulisle, Gul-ey, the island Gulö, north of Bergen; 333.

Gullbergs neck, Gullbergs-eið, near Gottenburg; 280, 281.

Gull-ey, Golden-isle, an island in the Gotha R.; 288, 333.

Gullyn in Hadeland; 136.

Gunnarsby, Gunnars-bær, near Túsberg; 28, 34.

Gyljandi (Piperviken?), near Oslo; 69, 228.

Gyrf, Gyrfi in Eynafylki, Drontheim; 222.

## H.

Hadeland, Haða-land, a province in central Norway on the lake Rønd; 53, 75, 120, 136; Magn. 8.

Haddingdale, Haddinga-dalr, the valley Hallingdal, Norway; 123.

Haka-dale, Haka-dalr, a district in Romarick; 120, 121, 136.

Halland (Hall-land), the province Halland, then Danish, now Swedish; 35, 57, 161, 164, 278, 285, 286.

Hallands-side, Hallands-síða, the coast of Halland; 286 (verse).

Halvards Church, Hallvarðz-kirkja, in Oslo; 37, 47, 160, 228, 237, 288.

Hamer-isle, Hamar-ey, an island or peninsula in Helgeland; 203.

Hammar-chipping, Hamar-kaupangr, a "chipping" or town, in Heidmark; a bishop's see now called Store Hammer; 3, 62, 132, 147, 183, 184, 217, p. 389.

Hammar, = Lille-Hammer, *q.v.*

Hardanger, Harðangr, the firth of; 291.

Hardsea-firth, Harð-sær-fjorð, a bay off the Hardanger fiord; 227.

Hattar-hamarr, a ness on the south side of Drontheim fjord; 18.

Hattar - skot (Applecross?), Scotland; 166.

Haugar, The "Hows," hillocks or cairns near Túsberg; whence Hauga-thing, a meeting in Túsberg; 28, 34.

Haugr, How, a farm in Heidmark (in Saxi af Haugi); 85, 95.

How-wick, Haugs-vík, Husvík near Drøbak, in Oslo fjord; 32, 68, 69, 109.

Heggin, a district in the Borgar-sýsla, 3, 148, 151.

Hegra-ness, Hegra-nes, a point north of Bergen; 18, 224.

Hegra-ness, Hegra-nes, a ness or point in Skagafjord, Iceland, whence Hegraness-thing, a place of meeting; 311.

Heidmark, Heið-mörk, the province, Hedemarken, on the east side of lake Mjösen, Norway; 3, 53, 105, 120, 126, 193, 217.

Helgeland, Háloga-land, the northern coast of Norway from Naumdalen to north of the Malanger firth, between the 65th and 70th degree N. L.; 12, 72.

Helgi-setr = the Holy seat, now called Elgisettr, a convent close to Nidaros. *See* Elksbieling.

Helkunda-heath, Helkundu-heiðr, a mountain on the border between the north and the east quarters of Iceland; 311 *v. l.*

Hellir (in Veseti at Helli), in Vettahérað; 204.

Hellisfirth, Hellis-fjörðr, a firth, now called Idefjord; 151.

Helsing-land, Helsingja-land, a province in North Sweden; 216, 243; Magn. 8.

Herðla, Herðla, an island in West Norway, near Bergen, see the following.

Herðla-ver, Herðlu-ver, the port or harbour of Herðla; 30, 318.

Her-isles, Her-eyjar, islands off South-mæren; 205, 316.

- Her-eyjar, isles off Helgeland ; 203.**  
**Hernar, islands, Norway = Herðla ; 173.**  
**Herr-ey, isle of Arran ; 322, 326.**  
**Herreyjar-sund, Arran-Sound, the sound between Arran and Cantire ; 322.**  
**Hermð, an island, whence Hermðar-sund, off Bohuslen ; 277.**  
**Hervads-bridge, Hervaðs-brú, Hervadsbro, in Westmanland, Sweden ; 274.**  
**Hest-by, Hest-bær, Hesbø in the island Finnø, West Norway ; 208, 277.**  
**Hinn, isle of Hinnø, off Helgeland, between Norland and Tromsø ; 72.**  
**Hjalt-land, Shetland ; 85, 225, 261, 302, 317, 318.**  
**Hles-isle, Hléss-ey, the isle of Læssø, Cattegat ; 82.**  
**Hlunnar. See Lunnar.**  
**Hnyding-berg, Hnýðinga berg ; Magn. 8.**  
**Hof, a place in Romarick (the abode of Amundi the lawman) ; 235.**  
**Hof, in Breiðin ; 333.**  
**Holar, Hólar, a bishop's see, North Iceland ; 79, 253 ; Hóla-staðir, id. ; 256.**  
**Hold-hella (Hellen), a point north of Bergen ; 206.**  
**Hol, Hóll (Arni á Hóli) ; 148.**  
**Holstein, Hollzeta-land, Germany ; Magn. 8.**  
**Holmdale, Hólma-dalr, in Vermland, Sweden ; 117.**  
**Holm-Gard, Holm-Garðr, Novgorod, Russia ; 81, 271.**  
**Holm, Hólmr = Töluholmr ; 172.**  
**Holm, Hólmr = Munk-holmen, a little island with a cloister, in Drontheim fjord ; 86, 213, 224 ; Magn. 3.**  
**Holy-isle, Eyin-Helga, in the lake of Mjösen, Norway ; 137, 178, 238.**  
**Home-ness, Heim-nes, a place in the province Rygjafylki ; 231.**  
**Horn-bora, the island Hommero ; 28.**  
**Hornbora-sound, a sound in Austr-agðir (Hommerö sund) ; 71, 106, 156.**  
**Hornbora-thing, a place of meeting, 28.**  
**Horsa-berg, near the mouth of Gotha R., Sweden ; Magn. 8.**  
**Hramn-holt, perhaps in or near the island Oroust, Bohuslen ; 277.**  
**Horse-ness, Hrossa-nes, near Túnsberg ; 28.**  
**Hrossa-nes = Horsens, Jutland, Denmark ; 306.**  
**Hound-sound, Hund-sund, near Túnsberg ; 128.**  
**Hun, a farm in Þótn ; 147.**  
**Husaby, Húsa-bær, in Borgarsýsla ; 3.**  
**Husaby, Húsa-bær in Skaun, Heidmark ; 333.**  
**House-steads, Húsa-staðir (Hustad) in Drontheim ; 86.**  
**Hvalar, the islands Hvalöerne, off the mouth of the R. Glommen ; 140.**  
**Hvarf, Cape Wrath, Caithness ; 319, 327.**  
**Hvarf-nes, the point Hvarven, near Bergen ; Hvarfness endi, its point ; 161.**  
**Hverft, Hverfín, in Heidmörk ; 126.**  
**Hvin, Hvini, the coast about the Hvinverjadale, now Kvine, west of Cape Naze ; 227.**  
**Hvít-á, Whitewater, a river in Iceland, in Borgarfjord ; 311.**  
**Hvítungs-isles, Hvítungs-eyjar, isles of, near Stavanger ; 227.**  
**Hofn, in Hinn, Helgeland ; 72.**  
**Hofud-isle, Höfuð-ey, isle, and cloister Hövedöen, near Oslo ; 47, 58, 68, 75, 160, 219, 228.**  
**Hordeland, Hörða-land, a province southwards from Sogn to south of Hardanger, Norway, *passim*.**

## I.

- Iceland, Is-land ; 38, 59, 180, 225, 257, 282, 283, 297, 300, 311 ; Magn. 5.**  
**Ignar-bank, Ignar-bakki, banks of R. Ign, Romarick, as nickname ; 145.**  
**Ilswick, Íls-vík, a landing place, near Nidaros ; 212.**



Ireland, Írland; 231, 322, 326, p. 393.  
 Islay, Íl, the isle of Islay, Hebrides; 320.  
 Islay-sound, Ílar-sund, the sound of Islay;  
 161, 326; Magn. 4.

## J.

Jadar, Jaðarr, the coast district Jæderen,  
 Norway, west of Cape Naze; 60, 130,  
 141, 227, 298.  
 Jafnacre, Jafn-akr, a farm in Hadeland,  
 at the southern end of lake Rønd: 122.  
 Jarlisle, Jarls-ey, the island Jersö, in  
 the Christiania Fjord; 64, 142, 148, 227.  
 Jemtland, Jamta-land, the highland east  
 of Drontheim, now Swedish: 10, 216.  
 Jerusalem, Jórsalir, Jórsala-heimr; 27, 29,  
 81, 294, 296, p. 394.  
 Jewry-sea, Jórsala-haf, the Mediter-  
 ranean; 294; Magn., p. 373.  
 Jona-dalr, a district, Hordeland, in a nick-  
 name; 238.  
 Johns-plains, Jóns-vellir, Bergen; 92.  
 Jutland, Jótland, Denmark; 256, 295,  
 306.  
 Jolund, Jölund, the island Jelöen, near  
 Moss; 66.

## K.

Keili-stream, Keili-straumr, now Kiel-  
 strommen; 212.  
 Kinna, R., now Kjensmo-elven, Romarick;  
 152.  
 Kerrera, Kjarbar-ey, the isle of Kerrera,  
 opposite Oban; 265, 320, 326.  
 Kerrera-sound, Kjarbareyjar-sund; 265.  
 Kinur. See Cumbræes.  
 Kinzarwick, Kínzar-vík, a district in  
 Hordeland; 86.

Kirkjuvøe, Kirkju-vágar, in Vágar, Helge-  
 land; 103.  
 Kirkwall, Kirkvøe, Kirkju-vágr, Orkney;  
 319.  
 Keel, the, Kjölir, Kilir, the mountain ridge  
 between Norway and Sweden; 117.  
 Knar, Bergen, (cp. Sighvat,—Fyrr var ek  
 kendr á Knórrum); 252.  
 Knarske, Knarrar-skeið? near Söndulfs-  
 staðir; 212.  
 Knollr, farm Knoll, Vermland; 117.  
 Kings-crag, Konunga-hella, near the Gotha  
 R.; 28, 107, 139, 185, 243, 258, 263,  
 288; Magn. 5, 8.  
 Kyrfell, Kúrfjall, Cowfell, unknown,  
 Westfold, Norway; 83.

## L.

Lamlash, Malas-ey, the harbour between  
 Holy isle and Arran; 322, 326.  
 Laurence church, Lafranz-kirkja, in Oslo;  
 235.  
 Laurence church, Lafranz-kirkja, in Túns-  
 berg; 185, 333.  
 Laka, Láka, Laaka, Romarick, battle  
 there; 217.  
 Landsend, Landz-endi, the southern  
 point of Norway; 1, 98; Magn. 8.  
 Lantun, or Lautyn, now Löften, Roma-  
 rick; 145, 152.  
 Laxvøe, Laxa-vágar, a vøe or creek near  
 Bergen; 908, 331.  
 Leaf-isles, Lafu-eyjar, Lövöerne, near  
 Horten, Christiania-fjord; 27, 99.  
 Leaf-ness, Leif-nes (not Leirnes), now  
 Leines, in Helegland; 203.  
 Leifasteads, Leifa-staðir, Lövestad, in  
 Borgar-sýsla; 185.  
 Leina, or Leina strönd, a district in Hade-  
 land; 75.  
 Lein, Leinum (dat.), Kungs-leina, Vestra-  
 Gautland, Sweden; 288.  
 Leira, R. Lerelven, Romarick; 131,  
 217.

Leir-angr, Leir-angrar, a port near Agðanes, in Drontheim Fjord; 182, 203.  
 Leir-gula, a farm in the province Firðir; 76, 79; M. 3.  
 Leirheims-wood, Leirheims-skógr, now Lörenskogen, Borgar-sýsla; 120.  
 Leir-nes, a ness on R. Leira, *q.v.*; 217.  
 Leir-nes. *See* Leafness.  
 Leiraplain, Leiru-vellir. *See* Leir-vellir.  
 Leir-vellir, a plain on the banks of R. Leira; 217.  
 Lennox, Lofnard, the, in Scotland; 323.  
 Leorin, in Skaun, Heidmark?; 104.  
 Lewes, Ljóðús, the isle of, Hebrides; 167, 265, 319.  
 Lidaudis-ness, Lindesnæs, Cape Lídaudisnes, Cape Naze, or south point of Norway; 130; Magn. 5.  
 Lidangr, Liðangr, a fiord; Magn. 7.  
 Lindholm, Lindis-hólmar, in Gotha R.; 277, 281.  
 Lille Hammer, Lillí-Hamarr, on Lake Mjösen; 3.  
 Lithes, the Hlíðir, now Lier, a dale and district near Drammen; 118, 145.  
 Little-borg, Litla-borg, in Nidaros; 4.  
 Ljodhouse, Ljóðús, Lödöse, a town near R. Gotha, Sweden, possibly the later Bohus Castle; 35, 150, 262, 267.  
 Ljoxna, isle, off Northmæren; 202.  
 Lo, in Uppdale; 333.  
 Lof-lo (now Laulo?), near Nidaros; 319.  
 Lofoden, Ofoden, Ófóti, a fiirth, Helgeland; 333.  
 Loch Lomond, Loku-lomni, Scotland; 323.  
 Loch Long. *See* Ship-firth.  
 Lua-sound, Lúa-sund, the sound Lauesvælget, near Hvalbærne, Norway; 28.  
 Luma-land, Luma-lönd, the farm Lomlanda, Bohuslen; 33.  
 Lund, Lunder, the archbishop's see in Scania, Denmark (now Sweden); 285.  
 Lunnar, now Lynder, in Hadeland; 75.  
 Lubeck, Lybika, Germany; 256, 275.  
 Lykr, a port (Lökevik?) near Eikunda-sund; 60.

Linkoping; Lyng-kaupangr, in Sweden; Magn. 8.  
 Lyng-ver, an isle off Romsdale, whence Lyngvers-flói, the bay of L.; 205.  
 Lynn, Linn, King's, in England; Magn. 4.  
 Lyxa, the island Lexen, off Drontheim fjord; 202.  
 Lægi, the main, the Great Sea; 290 (verse).

## M.

Magnus church, Magnús-kirkja, Kirkwall, Orkney; 329.  
 Malangr, a fiirth, Senjen, in northern Helgeland, Norway; 333.  
 Malmö, Malm-haugar, Scania, Denmark (now Sweden; 298.  
 Man, the isle of, Mön; 163; Magn. 4;  
 Manar-bygð, the Manx-country; 163, p. 391, p. 395.  
 Mary's church, Máriu-kirkja, Bergen; 172, 260.  
 Mary's-church, Máriu-kirkja, Túnberg; 28, 333.  
 Marches, The, Markir, the Border land between Norway and Sweden; 4, 107.  
 Marn, the R. Marn. *See* the following.  
 Marna-dale, Marna-dalr, a place and valley, = the present town Mandal, south Norway; 130.  
 Marstrand, Má-strandir, Bohuslen; 150, 333.  
 Marta-stock, Mörtu-stokkar, near Oslo, now Galgeberget, Christiania; 230, 235.  
 Ma-sound, Má-sund (Maurisund?), near Langesunds fjord, Norway; 227.  
 Mel, Melr, the seat of Gaut of Mel, now Rosendal, Kvindhered, Norway; 86.  
 Michael's church, Mikels-kirkja, Bergen; 308.  
 Midfirth, Midforth, Mið-fjörðr, a fjord, North Iceland; 59.  
 Middleby, Meðal-bú, in the island Arney, Helgeland; 203.  
 Middleby, Meðal-bær, Vermland Sweden; 113.

Middlehouse, Meðal-hús, Melhús, Gaulardale, Norway; 182, 213.  
 Midlandshaven, Meðallandz-höfn, a port in Hrossey, Orkney; 328, 329.  
 Mjösen, Mjørs, the lake Mjösen, Norway; 78, 82, 130, 146, 151, 193, 333; Magn. 8.  
 Mo, Mór, a place Mo, Norway; 184.  
 Modhonem, Móð-heimr, now Modum, a district near Drammen; 124.  
 Molga, a R., now Morgedals-elven; 238.  
 Mo-rastir, a farm, Vermland; 112.  
 Mork, Finmarken; 271.  
 Mors, the present Moss, in Smaalen; 184.  
 Mostrarsound, Mostrar-sund, Halland; 285.  
 Mull, the, of South Ronaldsay, Orkney; 319.  
 Monk-life, Munkalif, Munk-lífi, Munkeliv, a cloister at Bergen; 176; in Túnsberg; 288.  
 Mull, the isle of, Mýl, Hebrides; 326.  
 Mull, Mýlar-kalfr, the Calf of, off Tobermory; 326, 327.  
 Mull, Mýlar-sund, the Sound of; 319.  
 Mynni, or Minni, the mouth of the R. Verma, where it runs out of lake Mjösen; 147.  
 Mæren, Mærr (divided into South Mæren, and North Mæren), the Norse coast from Cape Stadt northwards to Naumdale, extending over some 130 miles; 79, 181, 196.

N.

Nafar-dale, near Lillehammer? Norway; 3.  
 Narbon, the town Narbonne, France; 294.  
 Naumdale, Naumu-dalr, a district in North Norway, Numdalen; 248.  
 Naust-dale, Naust-dalr, in Nordfjord; 319.  
 Neriki, a bishop's see, Sweden; Magn. 8.  
 Ness, now Bynnesset, near Nidaros; 189.  
 Ness, Nesjar, = the Nesses of Western Scotland, the Mull of Cantyre and the Mull of Galloway; 167, 320, p. 395.  
 Ness = Caithness, *passim*.

Ness, a church in Romarick, near Raumelf; 110.  
 Ness, Nesjar, the, west of the Christiania Fjord; 74, 109, 130, 167.  
 Ness-point, Nes-oddí, the headland or point opposite to Oslo; 130, 228.  
 New-church, Nýja-kirkja, in Vermland, Sweden; 115.  
 Nid, Níð, the R. Nith (Níðar-ós); 50, 239.  
 Nicholas church, Nikulas-kirkja, in Bergen; 157.  
 Nicholas church, Nikulás-kirkja, in Nidaros; 12, 242.  
 Nicholas church, Nikulás-kirkja, in Oslo; 231, 233.  
 Nidaros, Níðar-ós (Nith-mouth), the town at the mouth of that river, founded by Olaf Tryggvason, an archbishop's see, now called Drontheim; 22, 54, *pass*.  
 Novar (contracted from New Ayr or Novum Ayr?), Ayr, in Scotland; 322, p. 389.  
 Northern Quarter, the, Norðlendinga fjórðungur, in Iceland; 283.  
 Normandy, Norðmandi, France; 294.  
 North-mæren, Norð-mærr, a province in Norway, from the firth of Romsdale northwards, to Naumdale, now Nordmör; 326 (verse).  
 Northness, Norð-nes, a ness near Bergen; 176.  
 Northern land, Norðr-lönd, Scandinavia; 1.  
 Norway, Noregr; 1, *pass*., Noregs-veldi; 289 (verse).  
 Norway, Noregs-síða, the coast of; 228 (verse).  
 Nunns-seat, Nunnu-setr, a nunnery, Oelo; 233.

O.

Odde, Oddi, place, South Iceland; 38, 55.  
 Ogvald's-ness, Ögvaldz-nes, in the isle of Kórmr; 333.  
 Olaf's Church, Ólafs-kirkja, Bergen; 333.  
 Olaf's Church, Ólafs-kirkja, in Nidaros; 199.

Olaf's church, Ólafs-kirkja, in Oslo; 236, 333.  
 Olaf's church, Ólafs-kirkja, in Túnsberg; 301, 333.  
 Onar-home, Ónar-heimr, a place, Onerem, Tysnesö, Söndhördeland; 23, 86.  
 Oresound, Öresound. *See* Eyrasound.  
 Orkadale, Orka-dalr, a valley, in Drontheim; 182, 205, 213, 316; Magn. 7.  
 Orknar bridge, in Drontheim, Orknar-brú; 182.  
 Orkneys, Orkn-eyjar, 20, 162, 225, 317, *sqq.*; Magn. 2, 4; p. 389, p. 395.  
 Oslo, Osló (Ós-ló?), a town founded by king Harald Sigurd's son, a bishop's see, = the eastern suburb of the present Christiania; *passim*.  
 Oslo-firth, the inner part of Foldin or the Christiania fjord; 68.  
 Oslo-hundred, Oslo, the province of; 75, 127.  
 Oslo-stewardship, Oslóar-sýsla; 35, 58, 99, 145, 147.  
 Osmundwall, Ásmundar-vágr, a port in South Ronaldsay, Orkney; 327.  
 Osyn (Osen, *i.e.* Ós-vin, a place), near Oslo; 231.  
 Otta-steads, Otta staðir, in Heidmark; 126.  
 Oxnadals heath, Öxnadals-heiðr, in Iceland; 297.

## P.

Palencia, Palinz, *not* Valencia, Castile, Spain; 294.  
 Paris, in France; 281.  
 Peter's church, Pétrs-kirkja, in Bergen; 260.  
 Peter's church, Pétrs-kirkja, St. Peter's in Nidaros; 14.  
 Pentland firth, Pétlandz-fjörðr, Pentland firth; 319, 327.  
 Portyrja, a port, Portör, south of Kragerö; 147.  
 Preacher's Yard, the, Predikara-garðr, Oslo; 236.  
 Preacher's church, the, Predikara-kirkja, Nidaros; 239.

## R.

Ragnhild's holm, Ragnhildar-hólmr, a castle and an isle, near Konunga-hella, Gotha R.; 333; Magn. 7, 8.  
 Racksteads, Rakka-staðir, a place, Borgarsýsla; 33.  
 Randsound, Randa-sund, near Christiansand; 287 (not Rauða sund).  
 Ravensburg, Rafenz-borg; Magn. 8.  
 Rauma-riki, Romarick, a province, south-east of lake Mjøsen on the R. Raum-elf (R. Glommen), Norway; 32, 53, 75, 104, 110, 136, 146; Magn. 8.  
 Rauma-thing, a place of meeting; 10.  
 Raum-elfr, the "Elf of the Raumar." *See* Elfr (it was also called Glauma, whence the present Glommen).  
 Raumsdals-minni, the mouth of Romsdalsfjord; 212.  
 Red-bjorg, Rauda-björg, Rödbjerget, west of Nidaros; 203.  
 Refshala-deep, Foxtails deep, the channel near the Tre Kroner battery, Copenhagen; 293.  
 Rein, a place in North-møren, a nunnery; 71, 189; Magn. 3.  
 Renna-dalr, in Hrosset, Orkney; 171.  
 Reykja-holt, in south Iceland; 180, 243, 311.  
 Rif, a reef or bar, off Jaðar; 227.  
 Rhine, the Rin, Germany (in a verse).  
 Ringaby, Ringa-býr, in Gudbrands-dalir; 238.  
 Ringarick, Ringa-ríki, a province on the lake Tyri, in South Norway; 121, 136; Magn. 8.  
 Ringis-akr, Rigsaker, in Heidmark; 135, 213, 305, 333; Magn. 8.  
 Roeskilde, Róis-kelda, Roskilde, a bishop's see, Denmark; 285.  
 Rogaland, Roga-land, a province, from south of the Hardanger to the southern Jaðar, Norway (pres. Stavanger-amt); 244. *See also* Rygja fylki.



- Rognvalds-ey, South Ronaldsay, Orkney; 319, 328.
- Rognvalds-voe, Rognvaldz-vágr, a port in South Ronaldsay; 319, 327, 328.
- Rome, Róma, Róma-borg, 248, 255.
- Roman empire, the, Rómaborgar-ríki; 191.
- Romarick. *See* Rauma-ríki.
- Romsdale, Raums-dalr, Romsdalen, province, between North-mæren and South mæren, Norway; 79, 205.
- Rona, Raun-eyjar, the island Rona or Rum, Hebrides; 319, 327.
- Rond, lake Randsford, Norway; 75, 82.
- Ross, Ros, the province, Scotland; 314.
- Rouen, Rothemadun, Rocamadour, France; 294.
- Rott, an island of Jaðar; 106, 141.
- Rug-ey, isle of Rou-öen, Borgar-sýsla; 64.
- Rugen, Ræ, the isle of, Vindland (Pomerania); 293.
- Rum. *See* Rona.
- Rygina-berg, now Rygenbergene, the ridge, on the east side of Oslo; 231.
- Rygini, a place, Ryen, near Nidaros; 238.
- Rygja-fylki=Rogaland; 80, 93, 208, 293, 316, 327.
- Rygjar-bit, Rygja-fylki, a ness, Jernes-pynten, between Agde and Grønland; 80, 98.
- S.
- Selbosund, Salbjarnar-sund, a sound near the Hardanger Fjord; 227, 237.
- Salpti, firth of Salten, Helgeland; 203.
- Salteyjar-sund, now Skjelsbø-sund, Smaalen; 260.
- Salt-síra, the mouth of R. Sira, Rygjafylki; 98.
- Sanda, Sand-ey, the island Sanda, off the Mull of Cantire; 326.
- Sandar, in the isle Þriðnar, Helgeland; 203.
- Sandbridge, Sand-brú, in Bergen; 260, 333.
- Sandby, Sand-bú, in Upplönd; 86.
- Sandesound, Sanda-sund, west of Christiania Fjord; 109.
- Sandness, Sand-nes, a place in the isle Álóst, Helgeland; 203.
- Sandr, a place in Drontheim (Grømr af Sandi); 233.
- Sandstad, Söndólfstaðir, in the isle Hitrar, off Drontheim fiord; 189, 212.
- Sand-todra, Sand-toðra, isle of Sandtoro, Bergen; 227.
- Saracens, the dwellers in Serk-land; 313.
- Scotland, Skotland; 163 *sqq.*, 245, 265, 307, 317; M. 2, p. 389.
- Sarps-borg, the burgh and castle on the Glommen; Magn. 8.
- Sarri, ? Sarrasin, near Burgos, Spain; 294.
- Sax-land, Saxony; 178.
- Sel-isles, islands off Cape Naze; 106, 157.
- Selja, island, with a cloister, off Cape Stadt; 246; M. 3.
- Seville, Sibilía, in Spain; 294.
- Shetland. *See* Hjaltland.
- Shark-Strand, Hákarla-strönd, the strand from Nordness to the Tollbooth, in Bergen; 176.
- Ship-firth, Skipa fjörðr, Loch Long, perhaps also including the firth of Clyde; 323, p. 391.
- Sigvaldestone, Sigvalda - steinar, near Oslo; 228.
- Sicily, Síkil-ey, Italy; 191.
- Síla-voe, Síla-vágr, Selvaag, Jaðar; 331.
- Síld, island, Nordfiord; 189; Magn. 3.
- Siri, isle, now Utsire, north of Stavanger; 249.
- Sjöltum, Skjold? near Bergen, 311.
- Skagafirth, Skaga-fjörðr, district Iceland; 195, 283.
- Skalholt, Skála-holt, the bishop's see in Iceland; 180, 283.
- Scapa-neck, Skálp-eið, in Hrossey, Orkney; 328, 331.
- Scania, Skan-ey, Denmark (now Sweden); 285. Skani; Magn. 8.
- Skarar (Skörum), the bishop's see Skara, in Sweden; 274; Magn. 5, 8.
- Skard, Skarð, a place in South of Iceland; 59.
- Skarstead, Skarta-staðir, in Helgeland; 195.

- Skarthel, a club house in Oslo; 160.  
 Skaun, a district, Heidmark; 104, 126, 148, 152, 333.  
 Skedja-hof, now Skeou-kirke, Elfar-sýsla; 105, 126.  
 Skelja-stone, a rock in the sea, near Túnberg; 128, 333.  
 Skelja, Stonesground, Shellstones' ground, a ground or shallow, near Tunsberg; 34, 63.  
 Skellingar-hella, a landing place, in Nidaros; 239.  
 Skeranda-sund, now Skernsund; 227.  
 Skjald, a firth? 109.  
 Skidi, Skid, Skíða, a province, Skien, South Norway; 130, 283.  
 Skye, Skíð, the isle of, Hebrides; 116, 314, 327, p. 395.  
 Skye-sound, Skíð sund; 319.  
 Skotun, a place, Harald af Skotun; 104.  
 Skrofar, isle of Skroven, Helgeland; 203.  
 Sjaumeling; 205.  
 Slattsness, Sláttu-nes, now Langesund; 227.  
 Sheath-holms, Slíð-hólmar, some holms in the Christiania Fjord; 150.  
 Smjör-björg, Butter-björg, near Túnberg; 63.  
 Sodor, Suðr eyjar, the Hebrides; 162-165, 245, 259, 302, 314, 318, *sqq.*; Magn. 2, 4, 8; p. 389, p. 391, p. 393, p. 395.  
 Sogn, the firth and province of Sogn; 103, 123, 178, 210, 248, 305.  
 Sogn sea, Sogn-sær, the mouth of the fjord of Sogn; 79, 206.  
 Solbergs-mouth, Sól-bjargir, in the island of Hising? 204; cp.  
 Solbjörg, Sól-björg? Norway; 57.  
 Sol-eyjar, the province Solær, South-east Norway; 149.  
 Sotskel, isle, off North-mæren; 181.  
 Solund-sea, Sólundar-haf, the North Sea west of the Sulen islands; 319.  
 Sot-rangr, now Sætrang, Haðaland; 122.  
 Sourwick, Saur-víkr, farm in Vermland; 117.  
 Spanheim, Spán-heimr, a farm in Hardanger; 81.  
 Spain, Spania; 284, 287, 290, 294.  
 Spjr, the island Spjerö, one of the group Hvalar; 288.  
 Squirrel-isles, Íkorna-holmar, islets in the lake Mjösen; 78.  
 Stadt, Staði, Cape, Norway; 38, 76, 189, 205.  
 Stavanger, Staf-angr, a bishop's see, Norway; 40, 244, 258, 303.  
 Stafs-björg (or Stafnsb.), near R. Leira; 147.  
 Stallr, the south point of Jarls isle; 67.  
 Stangir, in Heiðdmark; 126.  
 Steig, in Guðbrandsdale; 238, 333.  
 Stein-voe, Steinr-vágr, near Áleyjarsund, South-mæren; 181; M. 3.  
 Stein-björg, Stenbjerget, near Nidaros; 103, 333.  
 Steinn, near Nidaros; 326. Oláfr af Steini; Magn. 5.  
 Stikka-borg, Sweden; Magn. 8.  
 Stofnar, in Vettaherað; 28.  
 Stout-inn, Digri-skytningr, a club, Oslo; 160.  
 Straumness Cheek, Straum-neškinn, a roost or race off Finmarken; 81 (near North Cape, called Knöska-nes?).  
 Straumr, a house in Bergen; 260.  
 Straumr, a farm, near R. Raum-elf; 110.  
 Stream sound, Straum-sund, in Halland; 287, 288.  
 Strönd, a district in Vermland; 116.  
 Sudrdalerick, Suðrdala-ríki, in Russia; 81.  
 Sudrheim, Suðr-heim, Sörum, in Gauldardal, or that in Raumaríki; 198, 205, 222.  
 Sule-skerries, Súlna-sker, west of the Orkneys; 318.  
 Sound-by, Sund-bú, in Guðbrandsdale; 183.  
 South-Mæren, the province, Söndmör, the coast from Cape Stadt to Romsdale in the north; 212.  
 Surna-dale, Surendale, a district in Nordmør; 200, 205.  
 Sursdalir, Susdal, Russia; 280.  
 Sverris-borg, a castle; 333.

Swabia, Svafa, Germany; 1, 275.  
 Swarth-booths, Svarta-búðir (Sútara  
 buðir ?) booths in Bergen; 172.  
 Swelchie, the, Svelgr, in the Pentland firth;  
 327.  
 Sweden, Svía ríki; 258, 268, *sqq.*  
 Sweden, Svía-veldi; 138, 165, 243, *et*  
*sqq.*  
 Sweden, Svíþjóð; 1, 259, 268.  
 Swine-sound, Svína-sund, a fiord in  
 South-eastern Norway; 8, 94.

T.

Tarbet in Cantyre; 320, 321, p. 328.  
 Tautra, an isle and cloister in Drontheim-  
 fiord; 86, 240; M. 1.  
 Thelemarken, Þela-mörk, a province in  
 Norway; 123.  
 Thing-eres, Þing-eyrar, in Iceland; Magn.  
 p. 373.  
 Thing-vales, Þing-völlr, Tingvold, in  
 Northmæren; 200.  
 Thissis-isle, Þýssis-ey, island Thössö,  
 near Bergen; 319.  
 Thjorsa, Þjörsa-á, R. in Iceland; 300,  
 311.  
 Thopt, Þopt-yn, Toften, Gudbrandsdale;  
 333.  
 Thornberg, Þornberg, now Tanberg,  
 Ringarick; 198.  
 Thorskabank, Þorska-bakki, near Ljóðhús,  
 Sweden; 268.  
 Thorsness, Þors-ness, a peninsula in West  
 Iceland, whence Þorsness-þing; 311.  
 Thotn, Thoten, Þótn, the province on the  
 western side of Lake Mjösen, South  
 Norway; 3, 75, 78, 126, 136; Magn. 8.  
 Thrælaberg, Þræla-berg, near Oslo (near  
 Alunverket); 130, 228.  
 Thursa Skerries, Þursa-sker, some skerries  
 or rocks west of Orkney and Shetland;  
 Tuskar? 265.  
 Thurso, Þors-á, Caithness; 170.  
 Thvera Thing, Þverár-þing, a meeting,  
 Iceland; 311.

Tjølgarheim, Tjólgar-home, Tilreim, in  
 Helgeland; 203.  
 Toledo, Tuleit, Spain; 294.  
 Tolga, isle, off Rogaland; Magn. 8.  
 Tolu-holm, Tölu-hólmr, an islet, now  
 Kristjans-holm, near Bergen; 172.  
 Torgar, isle of Torge, Helgeland; 203.  
 Tregda sund, Tregða-sund, a sound in the  
 Tregdefiord, near Mandal; 71.  
 Tromsö, Trums, North Cape; 333.  
 Tunis, in Africa; 313.  
 Tunsberg, Tönsberg, a town, at the mouth  
 of the Christiania Fjord; *passim.*  
 Tyri, Týri, the lake Tyritjorden, Rin-  
 garíki; 75, 82, 136.

U.

Ullins-hof, in Romarick; 238.  
 Updale, Upp-dalr, Opdalen, in Orkadale,  
 Drontheim; 121, 238, 333.  
 "Uplands," the, Upp-lönd, the highlands  
 of central Norway, including the Dales  
 and the land round the lakes Mjösen  
 and Rand; 3, 32, 79, 122, 146, 178.  
 Uppdals-skógr, a wood, Norway; 182.  
 Upsala, Upp-salir, archbishoprick in  
 Sweden; Magn. 8.  
 Ushant. *See* Whitsand.  
 Uswicks isle, Usviks-ey, now called Isvik-  
 skile? (Munch. iii. 734); 156.

V.

Vackabjorg, Vacka-berg (rather than  
 Valkaberg), Aakeberget, the castle near  
 Oslo = the later Akershus, or Eikaberg,  
*q. v.*; 333.  
 Valdis-holm, Valdis-hólmar, a holm, Val-  
 landsö, in R. Gaut-elf; 119, 148, 185,  
 226, 333.  
 Valdres, the province, the highland west  
 of Sogn, in central Norway; 123, 129,  
 210.

Valladolid, Valledelit, Spain; 294.  
 Valencia, Valinz; 294. But *see* Palencia.  
 Vang, Vangr, in Uppdale; 238.  
 Var-teigr, Varteig, in Borgar-sýsla; 1.  
 Varm (better than Varm-á), R. Vormen, Norway; 155.  
 Varna, a district in Borgar-sýsla; 63; Magn. 5.  
 Vegg, Veggir (Vegginum, plur. Veggimun?), Vegger, Elfar-sýsla; 291.  
 Veiga, the island Vegen, Helgeland; 203. (*See* Munch. iii. 939, footnote.)  
 Ve-isle, Vé-ey, isle of Veö, off Romsdale; 212.  
 Vend-land (the land of the Vends), Wenden, in the South Baltic, or the present North-eastern Germany; 272, 298 (Viudlandz farar; 274).  
 Vera-dale, Vera-dalr, a dale and district in Drontheim, in a nickname.  
 Vermland, the province of, Sweden; 101, 110-120; Magn. 8.  
 Verwick, Ver-víkr, in Sandeherred, Westfold; 108.  
 Vettar Hundred, a district in Bohuslen, near the present Friðrikshald; 28, 74, 125.  
 Vid-heim, Við-heimr, Vedum in Eyja, Guðbrandsdale; 333.  
 Vig-deild, now Vigtil, near Nidaros; 198.  
 Vík, the Bay, the present Christiania fiord and Bohus Bay, and the surrounding country; 3, *passim*, 227 *sqq.*; Magn. 6.  
 Vinger, the district Vinger, near the Raumelfr; 110, 152.  
 Vinger-sea, Vingr-sjór, lake Vinger-sö, near Eiða skóg; 153.  
 Vissins-ey, isle of, in lake Vetteren, Sweden; 134, 139.  
 Voes, the, Vágar district, in Lófót, Helgeland; 102.  
 Voe bight, the, in Bergen; 333.  
 Voe-bridge, Voe-bríd, Vágs-brú, in Drontheim; 10, 197.

Venner, Væner, Vænir, the great lake, Sweden; 154; Magn. 8.  
 Vörs, the province Vossevangen, Norway; 207.

## W.

Weir, Vigr, the isle of, Orkney; 171.  
 West-firth, Vestra fiörðr (Vestfiörðr, 166), the firth or loch Snizort? in the isle of Skye; 166, 327.  
 West firths, the, Vest-firðir, Iceland; 180, 246, 311.  
 Westfold, Vest-fold, the coast district west of the Christiania Fjord; 121.  
 West-garths, Vestr-garðar, the Western lands, the British Isles; 320 (verse).  
 West Holmdale, in Vermland; 117.  
 West-mans Isles, Vestmanna-eyjar, isles, Iceland; 55.  
 West street, Vestra-stræti, the, in Oslo; 235.  
 Whitewater. *See* Hvít-á.  
 Whitsand, Hvítsandr, Ushant, 164.

## Y.

Yarmouth, Járna-móða, England; 290.  
 Yellsbridge, Gjallar brú, the Bridge of the Dead, myth.; 241, the verse.  
 York, Jork, England; Magn. 4.  
 Yule-hall, Jóla-höll, a hall in Bergen; 309.

## Z.

Zcaland, Sjóland, isle of, Denmark; 164, 285.



II.—*Names of Persons.*

A.

Abel, son of king Waldemar, duke, and afterwards king; 256, 270, 277 (slain 1252).  
 Absalon, "Preacher" or Dominican, a Dane; 291.  
 Adalbrecht, duke of Brunswick; 313.  
 Aki of the Preaching Friars; Magn. 8.  
 Alan, Aleinn, earl in Scotland; 163, 167.  
 Alan, Aleinn, brother to Dougal; 323, 326, p. 391, p. 393, p. 394, p. 395.  
 Alexander (II.), king of Scotland, son of William; 245, 264, 265, 280 (died 1249).  
 Alexander (III.), king of Scotland, son of the above, m. a daughter of king Henry Beauclerk; 265, 320 *sqq.*; Magn. 2 p. 389, p. 390, p. 391 (died 1286).  
 Alexander, king of Novgorod, Russia; 271.  
 Alf, Álfr, a Danish count; 295, 298.  
 Alf, Álfr, of Leifa-stead; 185, 197, 201, 204, 213, 217, 218, 232.  
 Alf, of Thornberg, a Norse chief; 198, 218 (m. Ingibjörg Bard's daughter, sister of earl Skúli, Fms. ix. 97).  
 Alfstand weak, Álfr standveykr; 129.  
 Alfr, a liege-man, a kinsman of earl Skúli; 176 ? = of Thornberg.  
 Alf Erling's son, a liege man; Magn. 8.  
 Alf Styr's son; 104, 134, 145.  
 Al-gauti, a lawman; Magn. 8.  
 Al-gauti, brother to Veseti the little; 185, 197, 201, 218, 235.  
 Amundi, of Folavelli; 104, 152.  
 Amundi cockscomb, Ámundi remba, lawman of Rygjafylki; 86, 92, 93, 199, 235, 238.  
 Amundi, provost of Grenland; 86.  
 Amundi, son of Harald Stakefoal; 275, 285, 290.

Andrew, lord, brother to king Philip; 28, 34-37, 243 (died 1218).  
 Andrew, king of Sursdales, Russia, brother to King Alexander; 280.  
 Andrew Shieldband, Andræss skjaldarband, a Norse noble; 43, 72, 81, 164, p. 394 (died 1230).  
 Andrew of Thyssisisle; 319.  
 Andrew Havards son; 319.  
 Andrew, brother to Hánef; 171.  
 Andrew, son of Rólf kitten; 172.  
 Andrew, Nicholas' son, a liege-man; 294, 296, 318-322, 326, p. 339.  
 Andrew, archdeacon of Shetland, died 1215.  
 Andrew, Thorstein's son, an Icelfander, a brotherson to Sæmund of Oddi; 103.  
 Andrew the white, Andrés hvíti; 155.  
 Andrew jaw, Andres keptr; 228.  
 Andrés kuzi; 327.  
 Andrew pot, Andres pottr, a liege-man; 319, 322, 326, p. 388.  
 Andrew mocker, Andrés gums, a captain; 319.  
 Andrew club-foot, Andres plytr, Paul's son, a liegeman; 313, 326; Magn. 8, p. 389.  
 Andrew of Seventimes, Andrés sjaumelingar; 81, 205.  
 Andrew wryface, Andrés skæla; 203.  
 Andrew's sons, Andrés-synir, the sons of Andrew Thorsteinsson, Icelandic chiefs 311. (*See* Sturl. S.)  
 Angus, Engus (Aengus), of Cantire; 320, 323; Magn. 4, p. 391.  
 Arn-björn John's son, (brother to Gaut of Mel,) a liegeman; 28, 48, 63, 85, 118, 185, 186, 226 (died 1240).  
 Arn-björn pouch, Arn-björn posi, a captain; 285.  
 Arn-björn cheat, Arn-björn svæla, a captain; 319.  
 Arnfinn Thief's son, an Icelfander; 198, 199, 233, 243.

- Arni, bishop of Skalholt, Iceland; Magn. 5 (died 1298).
- Arni Arnmod's son, the ancestor of the family Arnsmœðlingar; Magn. 3.
- Arni, bishop of Bergen; 210, 253, 279 (died 1256).
- Arni troublesome, Arni sturla; 24.
- Arni Helldale, Árni heljardalr, a sister son of Paul barrowpole; 102, 157.
- Arni skilfull, Árni slyngur; 319.
- Arni leatherer, Árni leðrungr; 205.
- Arni on the hill, Árni á Holi; 148.
- Arni tail, Árni rófa, a steward; 184, 232, 237.
- Arni black, Arni blakkr; 196, 200, 205.
- Arni mariall, Arni marial; 241.
- Arnljot, the mother? of Ívar; 300.
- Arnmod, the father of Arni; Magn. 3.
- Arnthor, a messenger; 147.
- Asa, the mother of Gunnar; 48.
- Asa black, Asa blokk, a concubine of Gudolf; 83.
- Ashbjörn top, Ás-björn koppr, or kópr, a captain; 47, 232.
- Ashbjörn nib, Áshbjörn nebbi, of Meðalbúi; 203.
- Asgaut, Ás-gautr, abbot of Holm; 86.
- Askatín, Áskatín, abbot of Höfudisle; 86.
- Askatín, Askatín, sira, chancellor, afterwards bishop of Bergen; 275, 305, 319; Magn. 2, 5, 8 (died 1277).
- Askel, Ás-kell, son of Magnús minni-skjöld, a lawman in Gautland, m. Frú Christina; 29, 35, 107, 139.
- Askel, Áskell, John's son, chaplain, bishop of Stavanger, brother to Gaut of Mel and Árnbjörn; 86, 253, 279, 282 (died 1254).
- Aslak, Ás-lákr, steward; 86.
- Aslak, Ás-lákr, Hauk's son; 38.
- Aslak, Ás-lákr butter-coats; 183.
- Aslak, Ás-lákr dint; 241.
- As-lák gush, a messenger; 281, 285, 319.
- As-lák Dag's son, a captain; 319.
- Asolf earl's kinsman, Ás-ólfr jarls-frændi, of Eastairt, a liege man; 18, 86, 159, 161, 176, 187, 194, 195, 200, 208, 211, 212, 237, 239, 240.
- Asolf king's kinsman, Ás-ólfr konungs-frændi?; 68; read jarls-frændi?
- As-olf, son of Otrygg; 149.
- Asolf stroke Ás-ólfr stryckr; 194, 235.
- Asolf, another person; 204.
- Asti, one of the Ribbalds; 75.
- Astrida, mother of Olaf Tryggvason; 3.
- Astrida, a kinswoman of king Hacon; 6.
- Asvard harm, Ás-varðr harmr; 238.
- Audgrim of Agdirness, Auð-grímur Agðanes; 102.
- Audun Huggleik's son, a marshal; Magn. 8.
- Audun of Borg; 1.
- Audun Eastsea, Auðunn austan-sjór; 78.
- Aura-Paul, Aura-Páll, owner of a house in Bergen; 172.

## B.

- Bairn Peter, Barna-Petr; 69.
- Balki Paul's father; 166, p. 395.
- Balki the young; 166.
- Balti, a freeman of Shetland; 327.
- Bard Guthorm's son, father to king Ingǽ and duke Skuli, m. 1st king Sverrir's sister Cecilia, and 2nd Ragnhild d. of Erling of Kviðne; 2 (died 1195).
- Bard, provost in the Uplands; 86, = Bard of Grön? 137.
- Bard tough-stone, Bárðr bristeinn, a captain; 27, 45, 76.
- Bard wolf, Bárðr vargr; 198, 217, 235, 239.
- Bard of Hestbæ, a liegeman; 208, 277, 285, 319.
- Bard of Gudrek's stead, son of Thorstein kugað; 217, 237.
- Bard Groi's son; 237, 291.
- Bard downright, Bárðr bratti, a liegeman; 176, 198, 204, 235, 238.
- Bard, brother to Isaac of By; 191, 192.
- Bard toad, Bárðr hali, a steward; 53.
- Bard shot, Bárðr flekkur; 102.
- Bard, a cleric; 103.
- Baugeid, Baugeiðr, daughter to John of Eastairt, m. Asolf; 194.

Benedict, Benny, skin-knife, Beni or Benidikt skiun-knifr, a priest and impostor, chief of a band named Tattercoats; 33, 34, 46, 73, 78.  
 Benedict, Swedish prince, son of earl Birgir; Magn. 5.  
 Benny. *See* above.  
 Barefooted Friars, Berfættu-bræðr; 320.  
 Berg, the duke's clerk; 198, 241.  
 Berg, Amundi's son, Bergr Ámunda son, an Icelander; Magn. 3.  
 Berghor lock, Berg-þórr lokkr; 75.  
 Berghor toothy, Berþórr tanni; 217.  
 Berengaria, Beringer or Bæringer, a Spanish princess; 294.  
 Birgir the smiling, Birgir brosa, a Swedish earl; 29, 165.  
 Birgir Magnus' son, earl of Sweden (the great Birgir jarl, the founder of Stockholm), m. Ingibjorg, sister to king Eric; 243, 259, 261 *sqq.* (died 1266).  
 Birgir, abbot of Tautra; Magn. 1.  
 Birchshanks, Birki-beinar, the warriors and followers of king Sverrir and his family; *passim*.  
 Bjarmir, the Perms or Russians; 81, 333.  
 Bjarni, bishop of Orkney; 40, 86 (died Sept. 15, 1222).  
 Bjarni, of Gizki, a liegeman; Magn. 8.  
 Bjarni, master, of Nidaros; 41, 86.  
 Bjarni Mard's son, Bjarni Marðar son, a lawman; 86.  
 Bjarni horse; 233.  
 Bjarni Moises son; 237, 243, 270, 275.  
 Bjarni, a page; 294.  
 Bergen, the men of, Björgynjar-menn; 38.  
 Bjorn, the son of Thorvald, Gizur's son (*see* Sturl.); 59.  
 Bjorn, king Hakon's mother's brother; 98.  
 Bjorn, abbot of Holm, an Icelander (= Rita-Björn); 184, 185, 195, 205, 215, 225, 246 (died 1244).  
 Bjorn of Hof; 238.  
 Bjorn bundle, Björn packi; 150.  
 Blackmen, Blá-menn, negroes, sent by the German emperor; 243.  
 Blindheims men, the family of Blindheim; 161

Bogran, father to Helgi; 81.  
 Bolli, father to Ívar of Leif-nes; 203.  
 Borgar, son of Ogmund crook-dance, a messenger; 271, 306.  
 Botolf Æfa's son, a captain; 48.  
 Botolf limb, Bótólfr limr; 72.  
 Brand Kolbein's son, an Icelandic chief (*see* Sturl. S.); 248.  
 Brand John's son, abbot, an Icelander, afterwards bishop of Hólar; 313, 315 (died 1264).  
 Brusi, one of Skuli's men; 238, 241.  
 Brynjolf Canute's son, a liegeman; 24, 86.  
 Brynjolf, son of John Steel, a liegeman; 180, 207, 253, 279, 307, 310, 319.  
 Bodvar Thord's son, Böðvarr Þórðar son, an Icelander, father of Thorgils skarði, and brother to Sturla the historian; 283.

## C.

Canute, Knútr Eirík's son, king of Sweden; 269.  
 Canute the long, Knútr langi, king of Sweden, father to Holmgeir; 262 (died 1234).  
 Canute squire, Knút jungherra, later jarl, son of lady Christina and earl Hacon galin; 5, 29, 35, 87, 145 *sqq.*, 211 *sqq.*, 253, 309, 311, p. 395 (died 1261).  
 Canute Eric's son, Knútr Eiríks son, king of Sweden; 165 (died 1195).  
 Canute, Knútr, Swedish earl, son of Birgir brosa; 165.  
 Canute, Knútr, son of Magnus broki, of Sweden; 165, 269, 270, 274.  
 Canute, Knútr Waldemars son, king of Denmark; 243 (died 1202).  
 Catharine, Katrin, d. of king Waldemar Birgir's son; Magn. 8.  
 Cecilia, daughter of Sigurd Munn, sister to Sverrir; 2.  
 Cecilia, king Hacon's natural daughter; 109, 243, 244, 254, 259, 261 (drowned 1248).  
 Christ's-men and Cross-men, Krist-menn, Kross-menn, a war cry; 229.

Christopher, Christophorus, brother to Abel, king of Denmark; 277-298 (died 1259).

Christine, Kristín, lady Christina, daughter of Nikulás, m. (1) earl Hacon the mad (2) lawman Askel; 29, 154 *pass.* (died 1254).

Christine, Kristín, lady Christina, daughter of king Hacon Hacon's son, m. a prince of Spain; 8, 178, 254, 287, 290, 294 (died 1262).

Christine, Kristín, lady Christina, daughter of king Sverrir; 1, 4 (died 1213).

Clement, Klemet of Holm; 110, 120, 146, 239.

Clement Klemet the long; 129, 319.

Clement, Klemet father; 198, 213.

Clement. *See* Klemet.

Columba, St. Columba; 265.

Croziermen, Baglar, a political party in Southern Norway, hostile to king Sverrir and his family; 3.

## D.

Dagfinn goodman, Dag-finnr bóndi, lawman and marshal; 1, 9, 15, 41, 54, 59, 86, 177 (died 1237).

Dag of Groevo, Dagr af Gróvu, a captain; 183.

Dag of Sudrheim or Southhomes, Daga af Suðrheimum; 319.

Danes, the Danir; 256, *pass.*

David, earl of Orkney (died 1214).

Dougal the shrill, Duggall (Dubhgal) skrækr, joint-king of Sodor; 163, 167, p. 394, p. 395.

Dougal, Eilíf, Sumarled's son, father to Duncan crown and Dougal, Duggall (cp. Orkn. ch. 110); 163, 167, p. 394.

Dougal, Duggall, son of Rudri; 259, 260; Magn. 4.

Dougal, Duggall, king of Sodor (son of Erik?); 279, 317-322, 326 (died 1268).

Duncan (Donnchadh), brother to Dougal, the shrill, joint-king of Sodor; 163, 167, p. 394, p. 395.

## E.

Eastfirthers, Aust-firðingar, the men of Eastern Iceland; 311.

Eastmen, Easterlings, Austr-menn, Norse merchants and sailors when in Iceland; 55.

Eilíf the chaplain, Eilífr kapalín; 18.

Eilíf comber, Eilífr kembir, 48.

Eilíf the clerk, Eilífr sira; 50.

Eilíf crown, Eilíf krúna, son of Gudolf of Blakkasteads; 57.

Eilíf backbent, Eilífr keikr, a steward; 86.

Eilíf dwarf, Eilífr dvergr; 119.

Eilíf of the plain, Eilífr af Velli, a liege-man; 176.

Eilíf kine, Eilífr kýr; 219.

Eilíf of Naustadale, a liege-man; 319, 326; Magn. 8.

Einar butter-back, Einarr smör-bakr, a son of Gunnar grant-back, archbishop of Nidaros; 223, 263, 281, 283, 291, *sqq.*; Magn. 1 (died 1263).

Einar king's kinsman, Einarr konungsmágr; 1.

Einar Lombard, Einarr lungbarðr, a captain; 319.

Einar priest, Einarr prest, in Salpti; 203.

Einar Thorvald's son, Icelandic chief; 311.

Eindrid bookling, Eindriði bækill, a steward; 28, 48, 53, 86.

Eindrid pain, Eindriði peini, father to archbishop Sigurd; 165, p. 395.

Eindridi of Drómunes; 205.

Eric, saint and king, Eiríkr, Ei-rikr, St. Eric, king of Sweden, father to Canute; 269 (died 1160).

Eric, Canute's son, Eiríkr Knútz son, king of Sweden; 269 (died 1216).

Eric, duke (*instead of* fyrir sunnan á read fyrir sunnan sjá): Magn. 5.

Eric Eric's son, Eiríkr Eiríks son, king of Sweden (1223-1250); 107, 139, 243, 259, 261-269.



- Eric Waldemar's son, Eiríkr Valdemars son, called the Holy, king of Denmark, and father to queen Ingiborg; 243, 256, 270, 204; Magn. 5 (slain 1250).
- Eric, son of Christopher, king of Denmark; 298 (slain 1286).
- Eric, archbishop of Nidaros; 2 (died 1213).
- Eric the earl, Eiríkr jarl, brother to king Sverrir; 80.
- Eric Birgirs son, nicknamed "lack all," allz ekki, brother to king Waldemar of Sweden; Magn. 5.
- Eric, duke, Eiríkr, duke, son of king Waldemar of Sweden; Magn. 8 (slain 1318).
- Eric ignar-bank, Eiríkr ignar bakki; 146.
- Eric stalk, Eiríkr stílk, a liege-man; 181, 185, 217.
- Eric stay-brails, Eiríkr stag-brellr; 169.
- Eric shot, Eiríkr skota, Gaut's son; 319.
- Eric, Eiríkr, father to king Dougal; 319.
- Eric quarrelsome, Eiríkr kifa; 319.
- Eric, bishop of Skara, Sweden; Magn. 8.
- Eric squire, Eiríkr junker, son of king Waldemar Birgis son; Mag. 8.
- Eric squire, son of king Magnus Hacon's son, afterwards king of Norway; Magn. 6 (died 1299).
- Eric scrawl, Eiríkr pari; 57.
- Eric cirizo, Eiríkr cirizo; 75.
- Eric bag, Eiríkr bági or baggi; 102, 158.
- Eric lazy, Eiríkr lati; 104.
- Eric ribbon, Eiríkr dregill; 82.
- Eric goldwall, Eiríkr gull-veggr; 201.
- Eric white, Eiríkr hvíti; 203.
- Eric tuft, Eiríkr toppr; 238.
- Eric Dougal's son, Eiríkr Dufgals son; Magn. 2, 4.
- Eric the bad, Eiríkr bósi; Magn. 2, 4.
- Elis (Ellis), an Englishman, the Norse king's messenger to Spain; 284, 287.
- Elju-Bjarni; 182.
- Engli or Engill (a nickname?) father of Ivar; 283.
- English, the, Englar, in Engla-konungr; 296.
- Englishmen, Enskir menn; 249.
- Erlend of Houseby, Erlendr of Húsabæ; 3.
- Erlend Thorberg's son, Erlendr Þorbergs son, a crusader; 30.
- Erlend brown legs, Erlendr skol-beinn; 319.
- Erlend the red, Erlendr rauðr, a liegeman; 319, 320, 326.
- Erling Alf's son, Erlingr Álfs son, a liegeman; 310, 319; Magn. 8.
- Erling of Bjarkey, a liege-man; 328.
- Erling, Ivars son, a shipcaptain; 318, 319.
- Erling stonewall, Erlingr stein-veggr, a pretender; 3, 139.
- Erling bad host, Erlingr Rám-stafr, a captain; 57, 103, 122, 149, 155.
- Erling ring, Erlingr hringr; 57.
- Erling sound-horn, Erlingr ljóð-hord, a captain; 111, 120, 198, 199, 235, 240.
- Ernest, count, a Saxon; 305.
- Ey-fari, a man from the Isles (cp. Ey-fara-nautr, Sturl.); 320.
- Eyjolf, Eyjólf Thorstein's son, an Iceland (see Sturl.); 282, 283.
- Eystein Hroar's son, Ey-steinn Róa son, a captain; 48, 89, 93, 109.
- Eystein crazy, Ey-steinn ringr; 75.
- Eystein councillor, Ey-steinn ræðis maðr; 80 (died 1225).
- Eystein, Ey-steinn, a lawman; 89, 108.
- Eysiein, Ey-steinn, archbishop of Nidaros; 90 (died Jan. 26, 1188).
- Eystein sour, a canon of Nidaros; 198.
- Eystein of Aulum; 203.
- Eystein swim-strong, Ey-steinn sundramr; 232.
- Eystein gorecock, Ey-steinn orri; 238, 241.
- Eyvind priests kin, Ey-vindr prestmágr; 1, 9.
- Eyvind Sam's son; 4.

F.

Fernando, Ferant, sira, i.e. a Spanish priest and messenger; 287, 288, 290, 294.

Fins, the, Finnar, Finnish people; 271.  
 Fin-bjorn Helgi's son, Finn-björn Helga son, Icclander (*see* Sturl. S.); 270, 276, (died 1255).  
 Finn, Finn Erlings son? a liege-man; Magn. 8.  
 Finn, Finn Gaut's son, a liege-man; 253, 319.  
 Finn, Finn Kalfs son, a captain; 48.  
 Finn, Finn Bergthórs son, a captain; 48.  
 Finn ball, Finn knötrr, a steward; 184, 212.  
 Foldungs, Foldungar, the inhabitants of the coast near the Christiania Fjord; 32.  
 Folki, Fólki, a Swedish earl; 280.  
 Folki, Fólki, archbishop of Upsala; Magn. 8.  
 Folkungs, Folkungar (Fólki), a royal line in Sweden of the 12th century; 262.  
 Follungs, Follungar=the inhabitants of the district Follo near the Christiania Fjord; 70=Foldungar.  
 French, the, Frakkar, in Frakka konungr; 294.  
 Frida, Friða, mother of Olaf; 204.  
 Frederick, Friðrekr (I.), Roman emperor; 191.  
 Frederick, Friðrekr (II.), Roman emperor; 191, 243, 275 (died 1251).  
 Frederick, Friðrekr, a Spanish prince; 294.  
 Frederick slobberer, Friðrekr slafsi, a steward; 3, 53, 86, 110.  
 Frilluson, Bishop of the Southern Isles; Magn. 8.  
 Frisians, the Frísir; 277.

## G.

Galley Leif, Knarrar-Leifr, of Greenland; 311.  
 Gassi under the Fell, Gassi undan Fjalli; 57.

Gauti, bishop of Faroe, died 1268.  
 Gauti good-butter, Gauti gótt smjör; 57.  
 Gauti priest, Gauti prest; 125.  
 Gauti of Tolga, a liegeman; Magn. 8.  
 Gaut John's son, Gautr Jóns son, of Mel, a Norse noble and liegeman; 24, 53, 63, 86, 181, 194, 207, 211, 235, 253, 310, 319 (died 1270).  
 Gaut, Gautr=Óðinn; 194.  
 Gaut wolfskin, Gautr vár-belgr; 202.  
 Geirard, Geirarðr, count of Holstein, son of Geirfard (?); Magn. 8.  
 Geirard; Geirfarðr, count, father of the preceding; Magn. 8.  
 Geir of Strand, Geirr of Strönd (read Gísl?), Vermland; 116.  
 Gestil, a mythical sea king; 318 (verse).  
 Gilli, father to Guttorm; 319.  
 Gilbert, Gillibert, archdeacon in Shetland, afterwards bishop of Hammar; 302, 315, 322, 329; Magn. 4, p. 389.  
 Gilchrist, Gilli-Christr, an Orkneyer, 101.  
 Gil, Gils, a farmer of Strönd, Vermland; 117.  
 Gizki, the men of, Gizka-menn; Magn. 3.  
 Gizur, Gizurr Thorvalds son, an Icelandic chief (*see* Sturl. S.); 180, 195, 243, 248, 257, 270, 276, 282, 293, 297, 300, 311 (died 1268).  
 Gjafald the Goth, Gjafvaldr Gauti; 3.  
 Gjardar, Gjarðarr, brother to Alf Styrs son; 104, 220 (where read Styrs son).  
 Godred swarthy, Guð-röðr svart, son to king Rögnvald; 167.  
 Godred, Guð-röðr, king of Sodor, contemporary of Magnus Barelegs; 245, p. 393 (died 1095).  
 Goths, the, Gautar, the inhabitants of Gothland; 145, 267 *sqq.*  
 Gray friars, Grá-munkar; 321.  
 Greenlanders, Grænlenzkr; 311.  
 Gregory, Gregorius, son of Lord Andrew, a liegeman; 181, 237, 243, 244 (died 1246).  
 Gregory John's son, Gregorius Jóns son, a liegeman; 9, 12, 21, 24, 77, 86, 159, 161 (died 1228).

- Gregory peeper, Gregorius kíkr, of Shel-land (Helgeland ?) ; 86 (died 1221).
- Gregory, Gregorius, pope (A.D. 1227) ; 159.
- Gregory, Gregorius, pope (IX.) ; 243 (died 1241).
- Gregory, Gregorius, pope (X., 1271) ; Magn. 5.
- Grimar, Grímarr, a Norse chapman ; 55.
- Grimar slim, Grímarr svangi ; 57, 130.
- Grim strong, Grímr magni ; 204.
- Grim, Grímr of Sand ; 233, 237.
- Grim white, Grímr hvíti ; 119.
- Grim backbent, Grímr keikan ; 200, 206.
- Grip, Gripr, the father of Thori ; 291.
- Groa, Gróa, mother of Bárd ; 237.
- Grundt treasurer, Grúndi féhirðir ; 28, 53, 150.
- Gudin squint-eye, Guðini geigr ; 201.
- Gudleif, Guð-leifr, son of Otrygg ; 149.
- Gudleik of Scarthsteads, Guð-leikr af Skarta-stöðum ; 195.
- Gudleik of Ask, a marshal, Guð-leikr af Ask, a kinsman to earl Canute ; 147, 191, 211.
- Gudleik spit, Guð-leikr sneis ; 319.
- Gudleik scroll, Guð-leikr skreiðungr ; 48.
- Gudleik oath-swearer, Guð-leikr eiðungr ; 227.
- Gudmund Odd's son, Guð-mundr Oddz son, an Icelandic scald ; 59.
- Gudmund, Guð-mundr, bishop of Hólar, Iceland ; 79, 103 (1202-1237).
- Gudmund John's son, Guð-mundr Jóns son ; 319.
- Gudolf of Blacksteads, Guð-ólfr af Blakka-stöðum (also called blakkr, 75), a chieftain and leader of the Ribbalds ; 48, 56 sqq., 149 (slain 1226).
- Gunnar moorman, Gunnarr mirman ; 202.
- Gunnar spike, Gunnarr tindr ; 4.
- Gunnar baneman, Gunnarr bana-maðr ; 27.
- Gunnar Asa's son, Gunnarr Ásu son, an old Crozierman ; 48, 74.
- Gunar groat-back, Gunnarr grjón-bakr, a lawman ; 86, 91, 97, 281 (died 1232).
- Gunnar of Berg, Gunnarr á Bergi ; 110.
- Gunnar willing, Gunnarr sámr ; 129.
- Gunna, a farmer in Vingr ; 152.
- Gunnar king's kinsman, Gunnarr konungs-frændi, a liegeman ; 177, 189, 207, 216, 235, 253, 258.
- Gunnbjorn John's brother, Gunn-björn Jóns-bróðir, a liegeman, also called bóndi ; 48, 49, 54, 86, 109, 160, 228.
- Gunnhilda king's-mother, Gunn-híldr konunga-móðir, queen ; 3.
- Gunni, father of Snækoll ; 169.
- Gunni Lodin's son ; 54.
- Gunni, father of Guthorm ; 49.
- Gunnolf, Gunn-ólfr, king Hakon's mother's brother ; 50. Called "white" ; 111.
- Gunnstein, Gunn-steinn, father to Vigfús, an Icelander ; 311.
- Guttorm, Guthormr, archbishop of Nidaros ; 12, 40, 77, 97, 100 (died 1224).
- Guttorm, Guthormr, son of Sigurd ; 2, 21 (died Aug. 11, 1204).
- Guttorm sloe, Guthormr heggr ; 219.
- Guttorm gray beard, Guthormr grá-barði ; 3.
- Guttorm bundle, Guthormr þjonkr, the king's kinsman ; 148.
- Guttorm of Bjarkisle, Guthormr in Bjarkey ; 203.
- Guttorm of Jonadale, Guthormr jóna-dalr ; 238.
- Guttorm, Guthormr, son of king Ingi ; 5, 8, 87.
- Guttorm Gunni's son, Guthormr Gunna son, a liege-man ; 36, 45, 49, 54, 86.
- Guttorm Erlend's son, Guthormr Erlends son, a captain ; 111, 146, 156, 231 (Erlings son, 127, wrongly).
- Guttorm of Southhome, Guthormr af Suðr-heimi ; 198, 201, 205.
- Guttorm Gida's son, Guthormr Gyðu son, Magn. 8.
- Guttorm bank-club, Guthormr bakka-kolfr ; 320, p. 388.
- Guttorm, from Sodor ; 320.

Guttorm Gilli's son, Guthormr Gilla son, a captain; 319.

Gyða, Gyða, Jutha, mother of Gutthorm; Magn. 8.

## H.

Hacon, Hákon, archbishop of Nidaros (died 1267).

Hacon, Hákon Sverrir's son, king of Norway, son of Sverrir, and father to king Hacon; 1, 3 (died Jan. 1, 1204).

Hacon Hacon's son, Hákon Hákonar son, called gamli, *i.e.*, Hakon the elder, or the father, son to the preceding, king of Norway, born 1204, died Dec. 15. 1263; *pass.*

Hacon Hacon's son, Hákon Hákonar son, called ungi, or Hacon the younger, son to king Hacon Hacon's son; 174, 225, 228, 288 (died May 5, 1256).

Hacon the mad, Hákon galin (earl of Norway) sister's son to king Sverrir; 1-10, 42, 311 (died in January, 1214).

Hacon grice or sucking pig, Hákon gríss (owner of a garth); 218, 219.

Hacon, Hákon, master, afterwards bishop of Oslo; 263, 279, 281, 288, 306.

Hacon the red, Hákon raudör, of Hamar-isle; 203.

Hacon Bard's son, Hákon Bárðar son; 238.

Hacon spoon, Hákon eysill, a messenger; 312.

Hacon of Stein, Hákon af Steini; 320.

Hacon the cunning, Hákon kaviss (kaaf-vis), a captain; 68, 76, 106.

Hacon dove, Hákon dúfa; 192.

Had, the men of, Hadar, the inhabitants of Hadeland; 75.

Halfdan the black, Half-dan svartí, king; 329.

Haldor, Hall-dórr, a king's man; 238.

Halkell of Ridge, Hall kell a Rygini; 238, 241.

Hallkel Goodman from the Forths, Hallkell bóndi or Fjörðum; 326.

Halvard, Hall-varðr, bishop of Hammar; 126, 153 (died 1231).

Halvard, saint, Hall-varðr, a Norse saint; 67 (died 1043).

Halvard gold-shoe, Hall-varðr gull-skór, a Norse noble, sent as messenger to Iceland; 311, 313; Magn. 3.

Halvard the red, Hall-varðr rauðr, a ship-captain; 318, 319.

Halvard downright, Hall-varðr bratti, a liegeman; 27, 36, 86, 99.

Halvard the courteous, Hall-varðr kurt; 58.

Halvard stunted, Hall-varðr stuttr; 230.

Halvard heap? Hall-varðr bunjarðr; 326.

Halvard slippery, Hall-varðr svaði; 104.

Halveig Orm's daughter, Hall-veig Orms dóttir, an Icelandic lady, m. Snorri Sturluson (*see* Sturl. S.); 59 (died 1241).

Hanef the young, Há-nefr úngi, the king's steward; 168-173.

Harold gilli, Haraldr gilli, king of Norway; 106 (slain 1136).

Harold, Haraldr, earl, son of John earl of Orkney; 101 (drowned June 15, 1226).

Harold, Haraldr, king of Sodor and Man; 259-261 (drowned 1248).

Harold the young, Haraldr ungi, earl of Orkney, Snæköll's uncle; 169 (= the preceding).

Harold prick-filly, Haraldr stangar-fylja, a liege man; 49, 86, 152.

Harold Veseti's son, Haraldr Veseta son, also called véseti, a steward; 86, 111, 120.

Harold of Skotun, Haraldr af Skotun; 104.

Harold of Lantyn, Haraldr af Lautyn, a captain; 145, 152.

Harold Sæmund's son, Haraldr Sæmundar son, an Icclander; 270.

Hardanger, the men of, Harðangrír; 291.

Havard, Há-varðr, bishop of Bergen; 15, 41, 86 (died 1224).

Havard, Há-varðr, a steward, in Sundby; 86, 183.

Havard dint, Há-varðr dyntill; 238.



Havard poll, Há-varðr kollr; 238, 241.  
 Hedin, Héðinn, a king's man; 203.  
 Hein, the men of, Heinir, the inhabitants of Heidmark; 75, 105, 124.  
 Helglanders, Háleygjjar, the men of; 81.  
 Henry, Hein-rekr (III.) (Henry), king of England; 249, 265; Magn. 5 (died 1272).  
 Henry, Heinrekr, bishop of Stavanger; 40, 60, 86 (died 1224).  
 Henry, Heinrekr, a Spanish prince; 294.  
 Henry Kar's son, Heinrekr Kárs son, bishop of Hólar in Iceland; 253, 256, 257, 268, 270, 276, 301 (died 1261).  
 Henry, Heinrekr, bishop of Orkney; 329, p. 389 (died 1269).  
 Henry of Andverd's wood, Heinrekr af Andverðzkog; Magn. 8.  
 Henry, Heinrekr, bishop of Linköping in Sweden; Magn. 8.  
 Henry scot, Heinrekr skot, a messenger; 317; Magn. 2.  
 Henry, Heinrekr, duke of Brunswick; 1.  
 Henry, Heinrekr, count of Schwerin; 84.  
 Heinrekr, a messenger, of German extraction; 191.  
 Helena, a Swedish lady, daughter of Peter Strangason, and mother of Holmgeir; 262.  
 Helgi the keen, Helgi hvassi, an old Birchshank; 6.  
 Helgi, brother to Thorbjorn of Lumalond; 33.  
 Helgi of Sólbjörg; 57.  
 Helgi bears-flesh? Helgi fleskhun; 78.  
 Helgi Bogran's son; 81.  
 Helgi the red, Helgi rauði, a captain; 287.  
 Helgi Ivar's son, Helgi, son of Ívar of Lofo; 319.  
 Herbjorn, Her-björn, a Ribbald; 75.  
 Hergolf dint, Herjólfur dyntill; 82.  
 Hervir, bishop of Orkney; 263 (1248).  
 Hidi, Hiði, brother to Sigurd squint-eye, 7.  
 Holmgeir, Holm-geirr, a Swedish lord, son of Canute langi; 262 (died 1248).

Holmgeir, Hólm-geirr, a Swedish prince, son of earl Fólki; 280.  
 Honorius, Pope; 159.  
 Hoskuld Odd's son; 319; Magn. 2.  
 Hrafn Odd's son, an Icelandic chief (Sturl. S.); 282, 283, 311 (died 1289).  
 Hrani Kodran's son, an Icclander; 282.  
 Hreidar the messenger, Reiðarr sendimaðr, a Norse chief, sister's son to king Sverrir; 4 (died 1214).  
 Hroald. *See* Roald.  
 Hroar kings-kinsman, Hróarr konungsfrændi; 1, 15, 30.  
 Hroar, Hrói. *See* Roi.  
 Hrungir, a giant; 232.

# I.

Icelanders, the, Íslendingar; 59, 300; Magn. 3.  
 In-Drontheimers, Inn-Þrændir, the men of the inner part of Drontheim; 10.  
 Inga, king Hacon's mother; 1, 41 45, 179 (died 1235).  
 Ingi Bard's son, king of Norway; 2-11, 72 (died April 23, 1217).  
 Ingi, a false king of the Croziermen; 178.  
 Ingibjorg, Ingi-björg, Bard's daughter, sister to duke Skuli, and grandd. of Erling of Kviðna, m. Alf of Thornberg; *see* Ems. ix. 97.  
 Ingibjorg, Ingi björg, wife to Andrew shield-band; 164, p. 394.  
 Ingibjorg, Ingi-björg Erlings dóttir, a kinswoman to earl Skuli (the MS. has "systir" for móður-systir? Cp. Fms. xi. p. 97; *see* Alfr af Þornbergi); 71.  
 Ingibjorg, Ingi-björg, sister to Eric king of Sweden, m. earl Birgir; 243, 259.  
 Ingibjorg, Ingi-björg, wife of king Magnus, daughter of Eric king of Denmark 304 sqq.

Ingibjorg, Ingi-björg, Swed. princess, d. of king Waldemar Birgir's son, m. Geirard; Magn. 8.  
 Ingi-gerd, daughter of earl Rognvald, m. Eric Stay-brails; 169.  
 Ingimund, Ingi-mundr Kolbeins son; 228.  
 Innocent (III.), pope; 1.  
 Innocent (IV.), pope; 243.  
 Irish, the, Írar; 320.  
 Isaac, Ísagr, of Bæ; 109, 177, 191, 207.  
 Isle-firthers, Ey-firðingar, the men of Eyjaford, Iceland; 283.  
 Island blades, the, Eyja-skeggjar, the Island blades, Orkneyers, a rebel party; 92.  
 Ivar; 204.  
 Ivar Arnljot's son, Ívarr Arnljótar son, a liegeman; 300, 303.  
 Ivar Engil's son, Ívarr Engla son, sent as messenger to Iceland; 283, 287, 290, 294.  
 Ivar Thorstein's son, of Dale, a Swedish messenger; 259.  
 Ivar, bishop of Hammar, Norway; 40 (died 1221).  
 Ivar goad, Ívarr boddi; 9, 20, 21, 86.  
 Ivar nose, Ívarr nef, a liegeman; 30, 60, 86, 157, 181.  
 Ivar outwick, Ívarr útvík, a steward and captain; 35, 36, 47, 53, 81, 102.  
 Ivar, Ívarr in Berudale; 79.  
 Ivar gosling, Ívarr geslingr, provost of Oslo; 86.  
 Ivar of Skedjahof, Ívarr of Skeðjuhof; 105, 126.  
 Ivar frowner, Ívarr grettir, son of Paul vágar-skalm; 157.  
 Ivar of Sundby, Ívarr af Sundbú; 198, 201.  
 Ivar corny, Ívarr korni; 202.  
 Ivar Peter's son, Ívarr Petrs son; 203, 237.  
 Ivar the young, Ívarr ungi; 320.  
 Ivar rump, Ívarr rófa; 319.  
 Ivar Bolli's son, Ívarr Bolla son; 203.  
 Ivar of Loflo, Ívarr af Lofló; 319.  
 Ivar strawhouse, Ívarr hálm-hús; 238.  
 Ivar holm, Ívarr holmr; 232, 323, p. 391.  
 Ivar beast, Ívarr dýri; 232, 236.

## J.

Jacob, squire Jacob, jungherra, son of count Nicholas; Magn. 8.  
 Jacob, archbishop of Lund, Denmark; 285, 292, 298 (died 1274).  
 Jacob, bishop of Aros; Magn. 8.  
 Jarmar, a Vendish chief of Rugen; 293, 298 (died 1260).  
 Jatgeir skald, an Icclander; 83, 196, 205, 216, 243.  
 Jofrey (Geoffroy), provost in Tunsberg, afterwards bishop of Orkney; 46, 86, 99 (died 1246).  
 Jogram, a sailor; 81.  
 John Bull, Jóann Þjóri; Magn. 2, 4.  
 John, Jón, earl of Orkney, son of earl Harald; 20, 45, 86, 101, 162, 169 (slain 1231).  
 John, Jón (Eogan of Argyle), king, son of Duncan; 163, 259-265, 272, 320, 322, p. 389, p. 394.  
 John, Jón, king John of England; 1 (died 1216).  
 John, Jón Philip's son, a Swedish prince; Magn. 5, 8.  
 John, Jón, archbishop of Nidaros; Magn. 6, 8 (died 1282).  
 John, Jón, bishop of Børglum, Denmark; Magn. 8.  
 John, Jón Reginmoðu son; Magn. 8.  
 John, Jón lítli, of Skáni; Magn. 8.  
 John, Jón, son of count Alf; 29.  
 John, Jón engill, a Swedish lord, father to Karl; 280.  
 John, Jón of Austr-átt, father-in-law to Ásolf; 194 (died 1214).  
 John, Jón, brother to archbishop Jacob; 298.  
 John, Jón Orms son, of Oddi; 55.

John sandgoat, Jón sand-hafri; 126.  
 John smædri, Jón smæðra; 203.  
 John in Horseby, Jón í Hest-bæ; 328.  
 John silk, Jón silki; 203.  
 John provost's son, Jón prófastz son; 193; 218, 219.  
 John easy-life, Jón hóglífí; 319.  
 John bald-head, Jón ball-höfuð; 326.  
 John swarthy, Jón svartí in Bjórey; 203.  
 John, Jón, another; 203.  
 John twice-scraped, Jón tví-skafinn; 243; Magn. 3.  
 John queer, Jón dróttning, a liege-man; 253, 285, 319.  
 John, Jón Loðins son, a captain; 285.  
 John steel, Jón stál, a liegeman; 30, 45, 60, 86, 89.  
 John noisy, Jón rödd; 57.  
 John, Jón Sturluson, an Icelander; 270, 273.  
 John cat, Jón kött; 239.  
 John pauper, Jón ómagi, a "gestr"; 114.  
 John of Southhome, Jón af Suðrheimum; 222.  
 John mannikin, Jón murtr, son of Snorri Sturluson; 59.  
 John cask, Jón kútr; 75.  
 John, Longlif's son; 317, 319.  
 John kitten, Jón ketlingr; 155, 183.  
 John swill, Jón sylgja, son of Pál dalkr; 203.  
 John, Jón, a priest of Vermland; 109.  
 Jorund, Jörundr, bishop of Holar, Iceland; 373.  
 Jostein bowstring, Josteinn þömb, a messenger; 20.  
 Jutes, the Jótar (verse); 278.

## K.

Kari one-hand, Kári ein-hendi; 217.  
 Kari Eindrid's son, Kári Eindriða son; 319.

Karl the slim, Karl svangi, a captain; 27, 36, 233.  
 Karl deaf, Karl dauði, a Swedish earl, father of Ulf fasi; 259.  
 Karl, lord Karl, son of earl Ulf fasi; 274, 280.  
 Karl, lord Karl, brother of Ulf fasi; 280; Magn. 8.  
 Karl whitlow, Karl kveisa, a Swedish lord, son of Jón engill; 280.  
 Karl the marshal; Magn. 8.  
 Karlshead, Karls-höfuð, a man of Drontheim; 326.  
 Kettle post, Ketill staurr; 118.  
 Kirjalar, Russians; 271.  
 Kjarnak, Kjarnakr (Cernach), son of Machamal; 314.  
 Knut. *See* Canute.  
 Kodran, Koðran, father of Hrani, an Icelander; 282.  
 Kolbein heap, Kol-beinn hrúga (Cobbie Rowe), of the isle of Weir (*see* Orkn. S.); 171.  
 Kolbein, Kol-beinn, brother to Hanef; 169-173.  
 Kolbein, Kol-beinn in Rennadale, Orkney; 171.  
 Kolbein cat-back, Kol-beinn kettu-hryggr; 68, 150.  
 Kolbein Aslak's son, Kol-beinn Áslaks son; 319.  
 Kolbein knight, Kol-beinn riddari; 323, p. 390, p. 391.  
 Kolbein of Fyri, Kol-beinn of Fyri; 110.  
 Kolbein the young, Kol-beinn Arnórs son ungi, an Icelandic chief (*see* Sturl. S.); 180, 194, 244, 246.  
 Kolbein beard, Kol-beinn grön, an Icelander (*see* Sturl. S.); 276, 282.  
 Kolbjorn the red, Kol-björn rauði, a steward; 86.  
 Kolbjorn, Kol-björn, brother of Alf of Thornberg; 219.  
 Koli, bishop of Sodor, consecrated in 1210. *See* the Annals.

Konga the young, *Könga unga*, a mistress of king Hacon; 109 (cf. *Köngu-staðir*, a place in Iceland).

Konrad, *Konráðr*, prince, son of the emperor Frederick the 2nd; 275.

## L.

Laurence, *Lafranz*, father of Philip; 266.  
Laurence, *Lafranz*, bishop of Skara, Sweden; 274.

Lambi, prior of Elkshieling; 222.

Longlif, *Langlif*, mother to John (daughter of earl Harald Maddads son?); 317.

Leif's sons in Eastdale; 204.

Lioxna-lads, *Ljoxnu-sveinar*, the men of the island *Ljoxna*; 202.

Lodin, *Loðinn*, sira, a canon; 299, 302.

Lodin Paul's son, *Loðinn Páls* son, a captain (*sveitarhöfðingi*); 27, 36, 51, 71, 86.

Lodin Gunni's son, *Loðinn Gunna* son, a liege-man; 36, 65, 71, 86, 219, 220, 253.

Lodin stake, *Loðinn-staurr*; a captain; 287, 306.

Lodin hair-lock, *Loðinn-leppr*, a liege-man; 290, 296, 312.

Lewis, *Lofuis*, brother to the king of Castile; 294.

Lopt, *Loptr* of Skarð, an Icelander; 59.

Lucy, *Lucia*, St.; 330.

Lubeckers, *Lybiku-menn*, the; 256, 275.

## M.

Machamal, father to *Kjarnach*; 314 (*Machumel* is also a place in Cantire; see a papal bull of 1247, in Munch's Chron. *Manniæ*).

Magnus mindshield, *Magnúsminni-skjöldr*, a Swedish noble; 29, 259.

Magnus badger, *Magnús broki*, or *brokki*, of Sweden, son of earl Canute, and grandson to *Birgir brosa*; 165, 269, 270, p. 395.

Magnus barelegs, *Magnús berfættr*, king of Norway; 245, 326 (died 1103).

Magnus Erling's son, *Magnús Erlings* son, king of Norway; 28, 247, 251, 253, (died 1184).

Magnus Hacon's son, *Magnús Hákonar* son, son of Hacon Hacon son, king of Norway; 194, 211, 275, 278, 291, 292 *sqq.* (died 1280).

Magnus Olaf's son, *Magnús Óláfs* son, king of Man; 318, 323; Magn. 4, p. 391 (died 1266).

Magnus earl, *Magnús jarl* (I), St. Magnus, of Orkney; 265 (died 1116).

Magnus, *Magnús*, earl (II.) of Orkney; 319 (died 1239).

Magnus Gibbon's son, *Magnús Gibbons* son, (III), earl of Orkney (died 1273) see Ann. Reg.

Magnus Magnus' son, *Magnús Magnús* son, earl (IV.) of Orkney; Magn. 8 (died 1284).

Magnus leaf-coat, *Magnús blað-stakkr*, a ringleader of a band; 156.

Magnus Gizur's son, *Magnús Gizurar* son, bishop of Skálaholt, Iceland; 180 (died 1237).

Magnus, a Swedish bishop; 274.

Magnus, duke, son of earl *Birgir*; Magn. 5-8.

Manxmen, *Man-verjar*, *Manar-menn*, *Manar-byggjar*; 166, 167.

Margad, *Margaðr* or *Murgaðr*, Murchadh; 320, 323, 326, p. 391.

Margaret, widow of king *Sverrir*; 1.

Margaret, *Margrét*, queen, daughter of duke *Skuli*, m. king Hacon; 54, 56 *sqq.*, 207, 277, 309; Magn. 3 (died 1270).

Margareta, daughter of *Nikulas* of *Gizki*; Magn. 3.

Marchmen, *Markmen*, *Merka menn*, the Borderers; 107, 145.



Martin, king's kinsman, Marteinns konungs frændi, of Kinzarvík; 54, 86.  
 Martin, Marteinns, bishop of Bergen; 5.  
 Matthew, Matheus, a messenger from the German emperor; 243.  
 Matthew, Matheus, a Swedish messenger; 266, 267.  
 Maurice, Mauritius, a friar; Magn. 2, 3.  
 Malcolm, Melkolmr, a Scottish king (Canmore); 245.  
 Michael, Michjall, a Russian messenger; 271.  
 Missell (Michel?), a Scotch knight; 307, 310.  
 Moses, Moises, father of Bjarni; 237.  
 Munan, Munan biskups son, a liegeman; 185, 210, 215, 253.  
 Mulldwellers, Mylverjar, the inhabitants of the isle of Mull; 326.

# N.

Nicholas, Nikulas, or Nichulas, bishop of Oslo, bishop of the party of the Croziermen; 3, 28, 40, 67, 86, 109, 118 (died May 9, 1225).  
 Nicholas, Nikulás, archdeacon; 86.  
 Nicholas, Nikulás Reiðars-bróðir; 127.  
 Nicholas cart, Nikulas kartr; 134; tartr; 319.  
 Nicholas, Nikulás, the son of Paul vága-skalm, a liege-man; 109, 111, 135, 138, 157, 176, 181, 191, 207, 209.  
 Nicholas, Nikulas, of Mói; 184.  
 Nicholas Nikulás, of Gizki, son to Peter of Gizki, liege-man; 279, 319; Magn. 3.  
 Nicholas, Nikulas, son of Amundi Harald's son; 294.  
 Nicholas, Nikulas bróðir, a friar and messenger; 304, 305.  
 Nicholas, Nikulas, count of Halland; Magn. 8.

Njal (Niall), father of Thorkel; 167.  
 Northlanders, Norð-lendingar, the men of Northern Iceland; 311.  
 Northmen, Norsemen, Norð-menn, the Noregs-menn; the Norwegians; *passim*.  
 Norse, Norrænn, Norwegian; 150 (verse); i Norænni tungu, the Norse, Scandinavian, tongue; 291.

# O.

Oddi, the men of, Odda-verjar, in Iceland; 38.  
 Oddr, son of Eric lazy, in Meðalbær, Vermland; 104, 113, 183, 238.  
 Oddr Thórarins son, an Icclander (*see* Sturl. S.); 282, 283.  
 Oddr, of Sjöltum; 311.  
 Odin, Óðinn, Woden; 180, 194.  
 Ofurr, Æfa, father of Botolf; 48.  
 Ogmund, the king's standard bearer; 69.  
 Ogmund of Spanheim; 81.  
 Ogmund, Olmod's son; 121, 123.  
 Ogmund crowdance, a liegeman; 196, 205, 210, 277, 285, 319, 326, Magn. 2, p. 393.  
 Ogmund the stout; 205.  
 Ogur, father of Thoralli; 53.  
 Olaf Godred's son, Óláfr Guðröðar son, called the black, king of Man; 163, 166, 167, 259, p. 393, p. 395.  
 Olaf Tryggvi's son, Óláfr Tryggva son, king of Norway; 3.  
 Olaf the saint, Óláfr inn helgi, St. Olaf, king and saint; 3, 6; his shrine; 198.  
 Olaf, Óláfr, bishop of Greenland; 257.  
 Olaf of Stone, marshal, Óláfr af Steini; Magn. 5, 8.  
 Olaf, Óláfr, prince, son of king Magnus Hacon's son; 313; Magn. 6.  
 Olaf of Vigdiel, Óláfr af Vigdiel, a Norse chief; 198, 201, 205, 218, 233, 236.  
 Olaf swim strong, Óláfr sund-ramr; 152.

Olaf white-skald, Óláfr hvíta-skáld, an Icelandic poet (*see* Sturl. S.) ; 25, 180, 194.  
 Olaf provost, Ólafr profastr, of King's Crag ; 86, 263.  
 Olaf drowsy, Ólafr mókr, a steward ; 49, 53, 86, 104.  
 Olaf earl's kinsman, Óláfr jarls-frændi, a captain ; 50.  
 Olaf Inga's son, Óláfr Ingu son ; 98, 109.  
 Olaf kidling's muzzle, Ólafr kiðlings-múli ; 237.  
 Olaf Thora's son, Óláfr Þóru son ; 208.  
 Olaf meddle-leg, Óláfr kábeinna ; 208.  
 Olaf Paul's son, Ólafr Páls son, dálkr ; 203.  
 Olaf, a prince, son of king Hacon ; 158.  
 Olaf the white, Óláfr hvíti ; 160.  
 Olaf Frida's son, Óláfr Fríðu son ; 204.  
 Oliver all ill ; 166, 168, 171, 172.  
 Olmod, father of Ogmund ; 121.  
 Ondott squeak-lock, Öndóttir skaka-lokkr ; 182.  
 Onund, bishop of Nerike-Sweden ; Magn 8.  
 Onund, a standard bearer ; 12.  
 Onund, Brynjolf's son ; 109.  
 Orekja Snorri's son, Órækja Snorra son (*see* Sturl. S.) ; 180, 187, 195, 244.  
 Orkneyingers, the, Orkneyingar ; 173, *sqq.*  
 Orm John's son, Ormr Jóns son, of Breiðabólstað, Iceland ; 55, 59. (*See* Sturl. S.).  
 Orm, Ormr, abbot of Tunsberg ; 86, afterwards bishop of Oslo ; 230, 246 (died 1244).  
 Orm, a standard-bearer, Ormr merkismaðr ; Magn. 8.  
 Ornolf, of Folafield ; 78.  
 Ospak, Óspakr (styled king, 167), called Southlander, a son of Dougal, king of Sodor under the name of Hacon ; 163, 165, 167, p. 394 (died 1230).  
 Otho, son of duke Henry of Brunswick ; 1, p. 394 (died 1218).  
 Otryg, a farmer ; 149.  
 Ottar snowball, Óttarr snæ-kollr ; 106 (called Snækolls son, 101).

Ottar, master ; 281.  
 Ozur nit ; 72.

## P.

Paul Balki's son, Páll Báلكar son, a ship-captain ; 166, 167, p. 395.  
 Paul goose, Páll gás ; 166, 171, *sqq.* 220, 285, 306, 313.  
 Paul flida, Páll flíða, son of Nicholas, a liege-man ; 21, 22, 24, 86.  
 Paulwa ve-sword, Páll vaga-skálm (better vága-, as it is spelt in the *Annales Regii*), a liegeman ; 54, 60, 86, 176, 181 (died 1254).  
 Paul, Páll, bishop of Hammar ; 178, 253, 276, 294 (died 1251).  
 Paul pot, Páll pottir ; 201.  
 Paul dagger, Páll dálkr ; 203.  
 Paul stitch-linen, Páll lín-sauma, liegeman and messenger ; 300, 303.  
 Paul Magnus' son, Páll Magnús son ; 311.  
 Paul sour, Páll súrr ; 322, 326.  
 Perus, Piers, a Scottish knight ; 326.  
 Peter Strangi's son, Pétr Stranga son ; Swedish magnate, father of Helena ; 262.  
 Peter Caster, Pétr steypir, sister-son to king Sverrir, a Norse noble and crusader ; 1 (died 1213).  
 Peter, Pétr, a supposed son of Andrew shield-band, really earl Skuli's son ; 164, 198, 238, 239, p. 394 (slain 1240).  
 Peter, son of Paul flida of Gizki, a liege-man ; 86, 181, 196, 200, 205, 228, 253, 277, 279, 281.  
 Peter of House-steads, Pétr of Húsa-stöðum, archbishop of Nidaros ; 86, 100, 130, 159 (died 1226).  
 Peter, Pétr, bishop of Hammar ; 276, 279, 290, 299 (died 1260).  
 Peter, Pétr, bishop of Bergen ; 315, 331 (died 1270).

Peter mousey, Pétr músi ; 228.  
 Peter Ivar's sister's son ; 237.  
 Philip, Philippus, of Swabia, Roman emperor ; 1.  
 Philip, Philippus, duke ; 1.  
 Philip, Philippus, Norse earl, afterwards king of the Croziermen, m. lady Christine Sverrir's d. ; 3 *sqq.*, 26 (died 1217).  
 Philip, lord, Philippus, son of Laurence, a Swedish noble, m. Helena, daughter of Peter Strangi's son ; 262, 266, 272 (?), 274.  
 Philip, Philippus, Norse earl, who fell at Oslo, grandfather to the preceding ; 262.  
 Philip, lord, Philippus, Swedish prince, son of king Canute, and brother of Holmgeir ; 269, 272, 274.  
 Philip, Philippus Sæmunder son, an Iceland ; 270.  
 Philip, Philippus, Don, a Spanish prince ; 294.  
 Preachers, Predikarar, Dominicans ; 225, 289.

R.

Rafn, one of earl John's murderers ; 171.  
 Ragnfrid, Ragn-fríðr (called Rangrið, 254) ; duke Skuli's daughter ; 214, 254.  
 Ragnhild, Ragn-hildir, lady mother of queen Margaret, m. duke Skuli ; 71, 214, 221, 254.  
 Rangríd. *See* Rangfrid.  
 Reginmod, Regin-móða, mother to Jón ; Magn. 8.  
 Reidar down, Reiðarr dyn ; 182.  
 Reidulf Bard's brother, Reið-úlfr Barða-bróðir, who saved king Ingi ; 50.  
 Reidulf gold-crop, Reið-úlfr gull-kroppr ; 118.  
 Ribbalds, Ribbungar, a rebel party ; *passim*.<sup>2</sup>

o 23177.

Richard of Almain, Ríkarðr of Alimannia, brother to Henry III. ; Magn. 5.  
 Richard of Sodor, Ríkarðr, bishop of Sodor ; 276.  
 Rikiza, Rikiza, daughter of earl Birgir or Sweden ; 264, 268, 274, 277, 296.  
 Roald, Róaldr, brother to Asolf stroke, 194.  
 Rognvald, Godred's son, Rögn-valdr Guðröðar son, the great viking and king of Sodor, father of Guðrod svartí, Godred the black ; 167 (fell 1229).  
 Rognvald, Hallkel, son, a chieftain of the Croziermen ; 28, 32, 70.  
 Rognvald ork, Rögn-valdr urka, a liege man ; 318, 319, 328.  
 Rognvald of Orkney, earl and saint ; 169. (*See* Orkn. S.)  
 Rognvald's stock, Rögnvaldz-ætt, the line of earl Rognvald ; 169.  
 Roi Halkels son ; 160, 191.  
 Roi, Eysteín's father ; 48, 109.  
 Roi king's kinsman, Rói konungs-frændi 191.  
 Rolf kitten, Rólfr ketlingr ; 172.  
 Rollant, Rolland, earl of Galvei (Galloway), father of Alein or Alan ; 163, p. 393.  
 Roman emperor, Rómaborgar-keisari ; 275.  
 Rudri (Ruaidhri), a Scot or Gaelic marmor, father of Dougal ; 259.  
 Rudi, Rudri, a Scottish pirate ; 321, p. 389.  
 Runolf, Rún-ólfr ; 118.  
 Rygir, the inhabitants of Rygja-fylki, *q.v.*

S.

Sancho, Sancius, *i.e.*, a Spanish prince, and archbishop elect of Toledo ; 294.  
 Saxi of How, Saxi af Haugi, of Heidmark, a lawman ; 86, 95.  
 Saxi blade spear, Saxi blað-spjót ; 315.  
 Seming, a steward ; 3.

H H

- Saracens, the, Serkir ; 313 (verse).  
 Sigar, of Brabant ; 44.  
 Sighvat, Sig-hvatr Sturluson, an Icelandic chief (*see* Sturl. S.) ; 79, 180 (died 1238).  
 Sighvat Bodvar's son, Sig-hvatr Böðvars son, an Icelander, brother to Thorgils skarði ; 311, 313, 319 (died 1266).  
 Sigrid earl's sister, Síg-ríðr, abbess of Reini, sister of earl Skuli ; 71, 194.  
 Sigrid, Síg-ríðr, daughter of Canute Eric's son, king of Sweden ; 165.  
 Sigurd ; 160.  
 Sigurd Jewryfarer, Sigurðr Jórša a-fari, Crusader, king of Norway ; 288, 294 (died 1130).  
 Sigurd lord, Sigurðr lávarðr, son of king Sverrir ; 2 (died 1200).  
 Sigurd scrap, Sigurðr tafi (son of Emdridi peini), archbishop of Nidaros ; 165, 168, 184, 214 *sqq.*, 222, 247, 253, 276, p. 395 (died 1252).  
 Sigurd, Sigurðr, a Minorite ; Magn. 2.  
 Sigurd, Sigurðr, abbot of Tautra ; 86, 100.  
 Sigurd, Sigurðr, son of king Hacon and Konga the young ; 109, 189, 231, 253, 277, 282 (died March 6, 1254).  
 Sigurd, Sigurðr, son of archbishop Peter, a liegeman ; 196, 205, 253.  
 Sigurd Ribbald, Sigurðr Ribbungr, a pretender, a supposed son of Erling stone-wall, and chief of the Ribbalds ; 27, 57 *sqq.* (died 1226).  
 Sigurd thick-lips, Sigurðr sepill, a ship's captain ; 48, 166, 167.  
 Sigurd, Sigurðr, son of Ivar rump ; 319.  
 Sigurd smith, Sigurðr smiðr ; 166, 167.  
 Sigurd salt-seed, Sigurðr saltz-sáð ; 202.  
 Sigurd driver, Sigurðr kerrir ; 195.  
 Sigurd scrip, Sigurðr hit ; 201, 238, 243.  
 Sigurd silk-eye, Sigurðr silki-auga ; 282.  
 Sigurd Toli's son, Sigurðr Tóla son ; 201, 204.  
 Sigurd, Sigurðr, bróðir, friar or prior ; 256, 291.  
 Sigurd king's kinsman, Sigurðr konungs-frændi ; 1, 27, 43 (died 1217).  
 Sigurd squint-eye, Sigurðr skjálgi ; 7, 66 233.  
 Sigurd of Onar heim, Sigurðr of Ónarheim (=Sigurðr konungs-frændi ?) ; 23, 86.  
 Sigurd of Sodor, Sigurðr Suðreyski ; 320.  
 Sigurd pertly, Sigurðr pertill ; 203.  
 Sigurd pack, Sigurðr pakki ; 201, 203.  
 Sigurd paten, Sigurðr pattin or pactin 204.  
 Sigvald Squint's son, Sig-valdi Skjálg's son 172.  
 Sigvard, Sigvarðr, bishop of Skalholt, a Norseman ; 270, 273, 282.  
 Simon kine or cow, Símon kýr, a steward and liegeman ; 48, 82, 86, 139, 160, 228 (died 1245).  
 Simon stunted, Símon stuttr, a captain ; 287, 320.  
 Simon of Verwick, Símon of Vervíkr ; 108.  
 Simon Preacher, Símon Predikari, a Dominican ; 286, 290, 320, p. 388.  
 Simon de Montfort, Símon Mufort (*i.e.* Montfort), the English earl ; Magn. 4.  
 Simon, bishop of Sodor. *See* the Annals, (died 1249).  
 Skagafirthers, the Skagfirðingar, Iceland ; 283.  
 Skagi, Skagi skitrað ; 167.  
 Scanungers, Skánungar, the men of Skáney (Scania), Denmark ; 253 verse.  
 Skeggi, a priest ; 55.  
 Skervald story-teller, Sker-valdr strukka 3.  
 Skervold, Sker-valdr, of Gaulardale ; 17.  
 Skjalg squint-eye, Skjálgr, father of Sigvaldi ; 172.  
 Scots, the, Skotar and Skotzkr = Scottish 167, 245, 314, *sqq.*  
 Scot-king, Skota-konungr ; 245.  
 Skuli Bard's son, Skúli Bárðar son, earl and duke, a younger brother of king Ingi ; 9, 12-242 *pass.* (died May 24 1240).  
 Slitandi, an old Birchshank, a Shetlander, 73.  
 Smith slippery, Smiðr sleppa ; 58.



Snorri Sturlason, the historian; 55, 59, 74, 180, 194, 195, 243, 257 (died 1241).  
 Snowball Gunni's son, Snæ-kollr Gunna son (a kinsman to Svein Asleifs son?); 169-173, 208.  
 Soldan, the sultan of Tunis; 313.  
 Sondulf Hauk's son, Sönd-ólfr Hauks son; 57.  
 Soni trout, Sóni síkr; 205, 235, 241.  
 Sophia (Sufia), a Danish princess, sister of queen Ingibjorg, m. Waldemar king of Sweden; 312; Magn. 8.  
 Sorkvir Karl's son, king of Sweden (died 1211).  
 Sorkvir sogn-cheese, Sörkvir sygnakjúka; 166.  
 Sorkvir, bishop of Faroe; 86 (died 1237).  
 Sorli, archbishop of Nidaros; 276, 281 (died 1254).  
 Sorli, a Norse trader; 55 (died 1223).  
 Southlanders, the, Sunn-lendingar, the people of South Iceland; 59, 300, 311.  
 Southislanders, the, Suðreyíngar, the islanders of Sodor; 101, 163, 167, p. 391.  
 Southerners, Suðrr-menn (Germans, &c.); 109, 193.  
 Stephen Tumi's kinsman, Stefan Tumas-mágr; 243.  
 Stephen, Stefniir, master; 35.  
 Steinar tough, Steinarr herka, captain; 319.  
 Steingrim stroller, Stein-grímr stryllr; 24.  
 Steinrod, Stein-röðr, a priest; 146.  
 Stein-vor, an Icelandic lady; 297, 311.  
 Strangi, a Swedish noble, father of Peter; 262.  
 Sturla Thórd's son, the poet and historian (the author of the Hacon Saga); 3, 25, 283, 311 (died 1284).  
 Sturla Sighvat's son, Icelandic chief. *See* Sturl. S.; 180, 187 (died 1238).  
 Sturla, son of Hrafn Odd's son, an Ice-lander; 313.  
 Sturlungs, the, Sturlungar, the Icelandic family of that name; 195.  
 Styr, a priest; 78.  
 Sty-kar, father of Gjardar; 220.

Sufia. *See* Sophia.  
 Sumarled's stock, Sumarliða-ætt = Dal-verja ætt. *See* Orkn. Saga, the descendants of Sumarled; 163, p. 393.  
 Sumarled, Somerled, Sumar-liði, king of Sodor, the founder of the Sumarled's stock, kinsman to Dougal and Duncan; 163, 167, p. 394.  
 Sumarled, Somerled, the son of Somerled, p. 394.  
 Sumarled, Hrolf's son, Sumar-liði Hrólf's son; 171, 172.  
 Sunnifa, a saint (an Irish princess); 44; Magn. 6.  
 Svein Sigurd's son, Sveinn Sigurðar son; 81.  
 Swenn, Sveinn, prior of Elk-Shieling; 86.  
 Sveinung the black, Sveinungr svartí; 167.  
 Swedish, Svenskr; 274.  
 Sverrir, king of Norway, grandfather to king Hacon; 1, 89-92, 228, 329, 332 (died March 9, 1202).  
 Sverrir, squire, son of king Hacon Hacon's son; 296, 303 (died 1261).  
 Swedes, the, Svíar; 243 *passim*.  
 Sæmund John's son, Sæmundr Jóns son, of Oddi, an Icelandic chief; 38, 55 (died 1222).  
 Sæmundar-synir (Harald and Philip), the sons of the preceding; 270, 272.

# T.

Tartars, Tattarar, Tartarar, the Tatars or Mongol tribes, appearing in Russia about the middle of the 13th century; 271, 280, 333.  
 Tatter-coats, Slittungar, a band of rovers; 33, 34.  
 Thomas, archbishop, Becket; 130 (died 1170).  
 Thor, 232.  
 Thoralli, Ögur's son; 53.  
 Thoralli, a page; 294.

- Thorarin, father of Thorvard, an Ice-  
 lander; 283.  
 Thorberg; 81.  
 Thorberg, Thorri's son; 203.  
 Thorbjorn, of Lumaland; 33, 34.  
 Thorbjorn the stiff; 78, 104.  
 Thorbjorn truss; 146.  
 Thorbrand the swarthy, a steward; 3.  
 Thord draffle; 50, 82.  
 Thord skulker; 86, 94.  
 Thord the priest, son of Eric the quarrel-  
 some; 102.  
 Thord the eastman; 104.  
 Thord Sturlason, brother of Snorri and  
 father of Sturla the historian; 180.  
 Thord kakali, an Icclander; 180, 194,  
 246, 248, 257, 268, 270, 276, 283, 295.  
 Thord, son of Frederick slobberer; 192.  
 Thord toothy; 203.  
 Thorfinn, Sigvald's son; 319.  
 Thorfin of Gyrf; 222.  
 Thorfinn the bad; 50, 82.  
 Thorgeir bishop's man, a steward; 53, 75,  
 78, 86, 126.  
 Thorgeir, an archdeacon; 86.  
 Thorgeir stiff; 104.  
 Thorgeir, a holy man; 117.  
 Thorgils, bishop of Stavanger; 315, 329.  
 Thorgils, a Dane; 178.  
 Thorgils silly; 326.  
 Thorgils hump; 185, 238.  
 Thorgils scar, an Icclander; 270, 273, 276,  
 283, 297; Magn. 3.  
 Thorhalla the white; 297.  
 Thorir (I.), archbishop of Nidaros; 4.  
 Thorir (II.), archbishop of Nidaros; 159,  
 160, 162, 165, p. 394, p. 395.  
 Thorir, abbot; 196.  
 Thorir, chancellor; Magn. 8.  
 Thorir, Amundi's son; 48.  
 Thorir flick; 83.  
 Thorir, Gudmund's son, a lawman; 86, 96.  
 Thorir rough (*not* Thord); 129.  
 Thorir of Borri, brother of Vegard; 203.  
 Thorir twigbiter; 216.  
 Thorir short; 218.  
 Thorir slimbone; 226.  
 Thorir tott, an Icclander; 282.  
 Thorir, Grip's son; 291.  
 Thorkel, bishop of Oslo; 253, 263.  
 Thorkel, Thormod's son; 166, p. 385.  
 Thorkel (swarthy?); 171.  
 Thorkel, Njal's son; 167.  
 Thorlaug the bad; 232, 267, 285, 290,  
 294, 313, 325.  
 Thorleif bride; 57.  
 Thorleif, abbot of Holm; 319, 329.  
 Thorleif, from the Uplands; 86.  
 Thorleif [of Gardar, an Icclander; 180,  
 194, 195, 257.  
 Thorleik the wise (? Thorleif); 100.  
 Thormod thingfrith; 166.  
 Thormod, father of Thorkel; 166, 167,  
 p. 395.  
 Thorstein, Asmund's son; 86.  
 Thorstein scuffler; 3.  
 Thorstein, a sailor; 81.  
 Thorstein homeness, Hacon's standard-  
 bearer; 147, 231, 235.  
 Thorstein bowed; 217.  
 Thorstein, Guthorm's brother; 319.  
 Thorstein boat, a page; 326.  
 Thorvald, Gigur's son, an Icclander; 59.  
 Thorvard, Thorarin's son, an Icclander;  
 283, 297, 311, Magn. 3.  
 Thrond, a priest, of Folkinsberg; 3.  
 Tobba (Tobit?) in Tobbu-synir; 82.  
 Toli, father of Sigurd; 201.  
 Tumi, father-in-law of Stephen; 243.  
 Tumi, son of Sighvat-Sturlason; 79.

## U.

- Uffi the steward, Uffi dróttseti; Magn. 8.  
 Ulf good-bearing, Ulf fasi, a Norseman;  
 201.  
 Ulf good-bearing, Úlfur fasi, a Swedish  
 earl, son of earl Karl the Deaf; 259,  
 261, 274, 280; Magn. 8 (died 1248).  
 Ulf sharp-eye, Úlfur skygnir; 129.

V.

Varteigmen, Varteigingar ; 1.  
 Vergard of Veradale ; 12, 51, 52, 56, 72.  
 Veseti, the father of Harold ; 120.  
 Veseti litli, brother of Alganti ; 197, 198,  
 201, 204, 218, 235, 238.  
 Veseti at Hellir ; 204, 287.  
 Vigfuss, Gunstein's son, an Icclander ;  
 311.  
 Vicleik priest's son ; 271, 320, p. 391.  
 Vicleik, Audun's son, a marshal ; Magn.  
 6, 8.  
 Vilmund the lad, Vilmundr piltir ; 184.

W.

Waldemar, Valdemar Canute's son (1)  
 king of Denmark ; 1, 243 (died 1182).  
 Waldemar, Valdemar Gamli, king of Den-  
 mark (died March 28, 1241) ; 84, 158,  
 243.

Waldemar, Valdemar, Birgi's son, king  
 of Sweden ; 269, 288, Magn. 5, 9 (died  
 1302).  
 William, Vil-hjalmr (the lion), king of  
 Scotland ; 245.  
 William, Vil-hjalmr, cardinal bishop of  
 Sabina, 248-258.  
 William, Vil-hjalmr, the king's chaplain ;  
 210, 228.  
 William, of Torg, Vil-hjalmr of Torgar,  
 226, 232.  
 William, Vil-halmr, a German ; 191.  
 Wends, the, Vindir ; 272.  
 Wolfskins, Var-belgir, Earl Sklui's party,  
*passim*.  
 Worm. See Orm.

Z.

Zealanders, the, Sjólendingar, Denmark ;  
 288.

## GENERAL INDEX TO APPENDIX.

*The references are to the pages.*

## A.

- Abraham, Lord ; 429.  
 Adelm, Archbishop of Rouen ; 403.  
 Africa ; 426.  
 Akraness ; 438.  
 Ali, Sira, Swarthead's son ; 423.  
 Alvernus, precentor of Canterbury ; 412.  
 Alptarfirth ; 431.  
 Althing, the ; 435, 437.  
 Andrew Koll ; 430.  
 Andrew, son of Finbog ; 438.  
 Ari, Sira, 435, 436.  
 Arni ; 443.  
 Arni, Magnus' son, called the Daleblade ; 444.  
 Arni, son of Olaf ; 424, 425, 426, 429, 430, 431.  
 ....., consecrated Bishop ; 432, 433, 434, 435.  
 Aslak, Bishop ; 428.  
 Askell, Archbishop ; 425, 426, 433.  
 Athelstan, King ; 403.  
 Audbreck ; 428.  
 Audfinn, Thorstein's son ; 448.

## B.

- Bæ in Borgarfirth ; 423.  
 Balthazar, Balltzar ; 436, 437.  
 Batsend ; 445.  
 Bayeux, the Bishop of ; 419.

- Beckett, Thomas A', Archbishop of Canterbury ; 405.  
 Bede, the Venerable ; 446.  
 Bergen ; 421, 426, 428, 429, 432, 433, 435.  
 Bishop's-buss (a ship) ; 426.  
 Bjarnarstead, in Sealvøe : 445.  
 Bjarni, Abbot in Videy ; 425.  
 Björn ; 423.  
 Björn, Andrew's son ; 438.  
 Björn, Einar's son ; 423, 425, 426, 427, 430, 432.  
 Bjornness ; 441.  
 Björn, Sira ; 446.  
 Björn of Sharda ; 443.  
 Borgarfirth ; 423, 434.  
 Botsnar ; 425.  
 Bragi, Rich, an Englishman ; 445.  
 Brand, son of Haldor ; 435.  
 Breidabolstad in Fljotslithe ; 425, 428.  
 Bridgewater ; 444.  
 Brinktown ; 443.

## C.

- Canterbury ; 418, 419, 429.  
 Canterbury ; Alvernus, precentor of, 412.  
 Canterbury ; Henry, Prior of, 417.  
 Canterbury, the Archbishop of, St. Dunstan, *q. v.*  
 ....., ....., Thomas A'Beckett ; 405.  
 ....., ....., Lanfranc, 416.  
 Cecilia, Thorstein's daughter ; 424.  
 Christina, Bjorn's daughter ; 425.  
 Compostella ; 429.



D.

Dale in Eyjafirth ; 444.  
 Daleblade, Arni the ; 444.  
 Dalton, John, an Englishman ; 445.  
 Denmark, 427 ; 430.  
 Drengir skerry ; 431.  
 Drontheim ; 425, 426.  
 Dunstan, St., Archbishop of Canterbury ;  
     397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404,  
     405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412,  
     413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419.  
 Dyrholm isle, 430.

E.

Eastfirths, the ; 422, 423, 425, 428, 429,  
     431.  
 Edgar, King ; 407, 409.  
 Edward the Elder, King ; 404, 405.  
 Edward the younger, King ; 404, 405,  
     406.  
 Eid east, 424.  
 Eid in Fljotsdale ; 422.  
 Einar, Sira, son of Snorri ; 447.  
 Einar, son of Hauk ; 439.  
 Einar, son of Herjolf ; 423, 430.  
 Einar the fat ; 439.  
 Elfeve, Bishop of Winchester ; 407, 408.  
 Elfrida, mother of Ethelred ; 404, 405.  
 England ; 427, 430, 431, 433, 437, 438.  
 England, the King of, Henry IV. ; 427,  
     431 ; Henry V. ; 432.  
 English, the ; 435, 437, 444, 445, 446.  
 Englishmen's yard, Bergen ; 432.  
 English ships ; 430, 431, 432, 433, 434.  
 Eric, Hjalti's son ; 430.  
 Eric, King of Norway ; 427, 429, 430, 431,  
     432, 433, 447.  
 Erlend the freeman, Phillip's son, of Oslo ;  
     428.

Erlend of Strond ; 445.  
 Ethelred, son of King Edward and Elfrida ;  
     404, 405, 406.  
 Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester ; 403,  
     408.  
 Ethelward (Ethelred ?) King ; 407.  
 Evrasbakki 431.  
 Eyjafells ; 431.  
 Eyjafirth ; 443, 444.

F.

Fedming, a Fin ; 424.  
 Firths, the ; 422.  
 Flanders ; 427.  
 Fljotsdale ; 422, 429.  
 Fljotslithe ; 425, 445.  
 Florence ; 431, 432.  
 France ; 427.

G.

Gadd, Paul, son of Gudmund ; 422.  
 Garpa Stroet, Bergen ; 432.  
 Geir, son of Arni ; 435.  
 Germans ; 445.  
 Gilsa in Fljotsdale ; 429.  
 Gisli, son of Andrew ; 429, 438.  
 Gisli, Swart's son, of Reykholm ; 424.  
 Giski ; 428, 429.  
 Glastonbury, the monastery of ; 401, 402,  
     405, 416.  
 Greenland ; 427, 428, 429.  
 Grim, church priest in Skalholt ; 424.  
 Grindavik ; 421, 438, 445, 447.  
 Gudlang, Einar's daughter ; 447.  
 Gunlaug the freeman, son of Magnus ;  
     423.  
 Gudmund, Aris' son ; 437.  
 Gudmund, Sira, Thorstein's son ; 429.  
 Gudrid, daughter of Thorvard ; 444.

Gudrid, Mistress; 436.  
 Gudrun, Finn's daughter; 432.  
 Gudrun, Haldor's daughter; 424, 440.  
 Gudrun, Styr's daughter; 429.  
 Guttorm the Mighty; 443.

## H.

Hacon the freeman, son of Sigurd; 425, 428, 429.  
 Hafnarfirth; 433, 437, 439, 445.  
 Haldora, Abbess of Kirkeby; 424.  
 Hallormstadt; 429.  
 Hamburgers, the; 445.  
 Hans, son of Paul; 435, 426, 437.  
 Hans Nystead; 435, 436.  
 Helgafell; 425, 434, 437, 439, 446.  
 Helgafell, Thorstein of; 424.  
 Helgeland, in Norway; 424.  
 Helgi, son of Guttorm; 438.  
 Helkunda Heath; 425.  
 Helsingborg (Hisingborg); 431.  
 Henry (IV.), King of England; 427, 431.  
 Henry, Prior of Canterbury, 417.  
 Hof in Vopnafirth; 422.  
 Höfðar Jokul; 434.  
 Holar; 421, 428, 433, 435, 437, 438, 439.  
 Holar, Peter, Bishop of; 421, 422.  
 Horgadah; 435.  
 Horn, (Iceland); 430, 431.  
 Horse-fell; 425.  
 Höskuld, Sira; 424.  
 Hrafnarfirth; 431, 433.  
 Hunavatus Thing; 435.  
 Hunawater Thing; 422.  
 Hunvetningers, the; 437.  
 Hvamm; 424.

## I.

Iceland; 421, 422, 426, 427, 428, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 437.  
 Icelanders, a letter of the; 447.

Ingibjorg, daughter of Thorward; 444.  
 Irish yard, the; 443.  
 Ivar, called holm, lawman, son of Vigfus, 443.  
 Ivent the Saxon; 434.

## J.

James, Bishop; 428.  
 Jewry-land; 427.  
 John, a murderer of John son of Gink; 442.  
 John, a priest, called Bretternore; 444.  
 John, bishop; 428, 429, 433, 435.  
 John, Bishop of Holar; 436.  
 John, Bishop of Holar, John's son; 437, 418.  
 John, Bishop of Skalholt, Gerek's son; 439, 441, 442, 443, 444.  
 John, Bishop, son of Torfi; 435.  
 John, brother-in-law of Sira Björn; 446.  
 John Egilsson; 444.  
 John, Gizur's son; 446.  
 John, Halfrid's son; 425, 436.  
 John, Ivor (Sira ?) Paul's son; 436, 427.  
 John, son of Bjorn; 435, 436.  
 John, son of Egil; 441.  
 John, son of Gisli; 438.  
 John, son of Guttorm; 424.  
 John the excellent; 423.  
 John the freeman, Hacon's son; 422.  
 John the long; 439.  
 Jordan, the river; 408.

## K.

Kana-boat, the; 423.  
 Kent; 404, 408, 410, 412, 413, 416, 418.  
 Keflawick; 445.  
 Ketill, son of Snowbjörn; 438.  
 Kikjuby, Kirkeby; 440.  
 Kirkeby; 430, 440.

Kirkeby, the cloister of ; 424, 246.  
Kirkjuból ; 443.  
Kolgrinn ; 428.  
Krysivik ; 421.

L.

Lanfranc, Lanfrank, Archbishop of Canterbury ; 416, 417, 419.  
Laurence-son, Arni ; 397.  
Leira farm, in Leira district ; 432.  
Lomagnups Sand ; 425.  
London ; 408.  
Longlithe ; 428.  
Lopt the powerful ; 441.  
Lubeck ; 432.

M.

Magnus, feast ruler in Skalholt ; 443.  
Magnus, son of Magnus ; 429, 430.  
Margaret, daughter of Özur ; 435, 436.  
Margaret, Queen ; 428, 429, 430.  
Margaret, sister of Ivar, called holm ; 443, 444.  
Martin, Lord, or Master ; 447.  
Mary Magdalene ; 409.  
Matthew, a priest ; 440.  
Matthew, a sea captain ; 437.  
Michael, Sira ; 436.  
Middleland ; 445.  
Mjösen, Lake in Norway ; 427.  
Modruvales, 441  
Modruvales in Eyjafirth ; 443.  
Modruvales in Horgafale ; 435.  
Monklife, the cloister of 433.  
Monkthvera ; 438, 439.

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N.

Naples, the King of ; 431.  
Narfi, Swein's son, the lawman ; 425.  
Nicholas, an Englishman ; 445.  
Nicholas, a priest ; 440.  
Njal, Abbot of Helgafell ; 439.  
Norway ; 421, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 435, 438, 439, 446, 447.  
Nup, the ; 424.  
Nystead, Hans ; 435, 436.

O.

Oddi ; 429.  
Oddr, Archbishop ; 408.  
Oddr, Sera, son of John ; 425, 428, 429.  
Oddr, the lawman ; 448.  
Ogmund, Bishop ; 445, 447.  
Olaf, murderer of John, son of Gerik ; 442.  
Olaf, son of Peter ; 429.  
Olaf's image ; 426.  
Olof, wife of Sira Björn ; 446, 447.  
Oræfi ; 430.  
Oslo, 428, 429.

P.

Papey, off Alptarfirth ; 431.  
Parliament ; 419.  
Paul bishop of Videy ; 424.  
Paul son of Thorvard ; 424.  
Peter, Bishop of Holar ; 421, 422.  
Peter's bowl ; 421.  
Philippa, daughter of Henry (IV.) of England, Queen of Denmark ; 427, 440.  
Pope, the ; 431, 432.

## R.

Rafn, the lawman, 448.  
 Ragnhild, daughter of Thorvard, 444.  
 Reykhola, 447.  
 Reykholt in Borgarfirth, 423, 435, 438.  
 Reykholur, 424.  
 Reykjaners, 436.  
 Richard, an English sea captain, 431.  
 Richard (Scrope), Archbishop of York ; 427.  
 Rif, the ; 446, 447.  
 Robert ; 447.  
 Rome ; 426, 427, 430, 431.  
 Rouen, the Archbishop of, Adelm, *q.v.*  
 Runolf of Thykkaby ; 424.

## S.

Saemund, son of Thorstein ; 422.  
 St. Andrew ; 407, 408, 412, 425.  
 St. Anthony ; 434.  
 St. John the Baptist ; 408.  
 St. Mary's Chapel ; 426.  
 St. Paul ; 402, 407.  
 St. Peter ; 407.  
 St. Peter's Church at Rome ; 431.  
 Sand ; 433.  
 Scarth in Middleland ; 445.  
 Sealvoe ; 445.  
 Shetland ; 430.  
 Sigrid ; 427.  
 Sigrid, Erlend's daughter ; 426, 429.  
 Sigurd Fafnirs-bane ; 426.  
 Sigfus ; 423.  
 Stragafirth ; 436.  
 Skalholt ; 421, 423, 424, 425, 426, 428, 429, 431, 433, 434, 438, 439, 441, 443, 444.  
 Skumstead ; 430.  
 Side, the ; 423, 432.

Sidemen, the ; 444.  
 Snorri Doverson ; 429.  
 Snorri, son of Torfi ; 427, 429, 432.  
 Solveig, Thorstein's daughter ; 423, 427.  
 Song Anna ; 436.  
 Sophia, daughter of Lopt ; 443.  
 Spittal brothers ; 429.  
 Spoa-steads ; 442.  
 Stadarstead ; 447.  
 Starkad the old ; 427.  
 Steinun, daughter of Hrafn, the lawman ; 428.  
 Stephen, Bishop ; 444.  
 Strond, Erlend of ; 445.  
 Svanskir men ; 429.  
 Swallow-ship, the ; 430.  
 Sweden ; 430.

## T.

Teit, from Björnness ; 441, 443.  
 Thengilsere ; 441.  
 Therney firth ; 435, 436.  
 Therney sound ; 430.  
 Thing, the ; 422, 433.  
 Thing-Eyra cloister ; 437.  
 Thing-eyri ; 397.  
 Thingfield, the ; 448.  
 Thomas, S. (A'Beckett) Archbishop Canterbury ; 405.  
 Thorasinn, son of Andrew ; 425, 428.  
 Thord ; 424.  
 Thord, Arni's son ; 422.  
 Thorfinn, the church priest ; 425.  
 Thorgills, abbot of Monkthvera ; 439.  
 Thorgrim, son of Sölvi ; 427, 428, 429.  
 Thorkel, Sira, Olaf's son ; 435.  
 Thorkel, Sira, son of Gudbjart ; 436.  
 Thorvard, Lopt's son ; 441, 443, 444.  
 Thorlah, Bishop ; 444.  
 Thorleif, son of Andrew ; 428.  
 Thorleif, son of Arni ; 425, 435.  
 Thorleif, son of Sira Björn ; 447.  
 Thorshaven ; 445.  
 Thorstein, 423.



Thorstein of Helgafell; 424.  
 Thorstein, son of Helming; 427, 429.  
 Thorstein the priest, Andrew's son; 429.  
 Thvotta; 433.  
 Thykkaby in Ver; 433.  
 Thykkaby, Runolf of; 424.  
 Thykkaby, the cloister at; 424.

## U.

Uistor, the nunnery of; 405.  
 Urdarklett, the crags at; 442.

## V.

Venice; 427.  
 Vermund, abbot; 425, 434.  
 Videy; 426, 438.  
 Videy, Bjarni, abbot of; 425.  
 Videy, Paul, bishop of; 424.  
 Vigfus, Sira, Thorbjörn's son; 429, 430.  
 Vigfus, Sera, son of Thorbjörn; 425.  
 Vigfus, steward of Skalholt; 443.

Vigfus the freeman, son of Ivar; 426,  
 428, 431, 433.  
 Vopnafirth; 422.

## W.

Walrusness; 434.  
 Waterfirth; 423.  
 Waterless; 445.  
 Westfirths, the; 425, 438.  
 Westman Isles, the; 422, 430, 431, 432,  
 433, 434, 435, 436, 437.  
 Whale-Einar, son of Herjolf; 423, 430.  
 Whalefirth; 425.  
 Wilkin, Bishop; 421, 422, 423, 425, 426.  
 Winchester, the Bishop of; 403, 407, 408,  
 416.  
 Worcester; 407.

## Y.

York, the Archbishop of, Richard  
 (Scrope); 427.







